IE-MAKING OF THE NATIONS

ROBERT S RAIT



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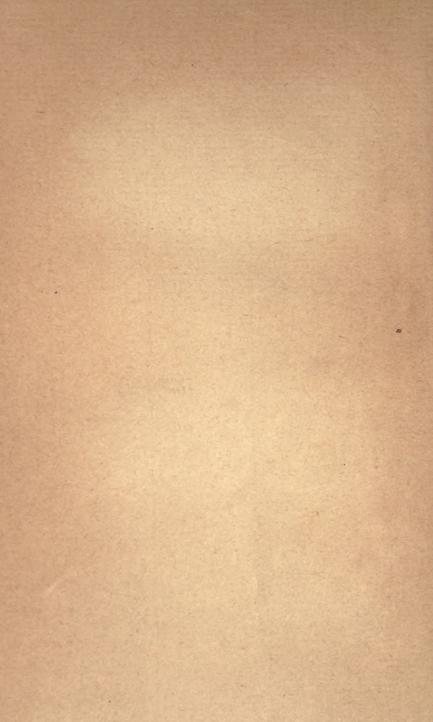
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JAMES VI. OF SCOTLAND AND I. OF ENGLAND (1566-1624).

From the painting by Cornelius Jansen at the Royal College of Physicians, Edinburgh.

THE MAKING OF THE NATIONS

SCOTLAND

BY

ROBERT S. RAIT

FELLOW AND TUTOR OF NEW COLLEGE, OXFORD AUTHOR OF "THE SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT," "RELATIONS BETWEEN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND"

WITH \$2 FULL-PAGE ILLUSTRATIONS FROM ORIGINAL PAINTINGS AND FROM PHOTOGRAPHS ALSO MAPS AND PLANS IN THE TEXT



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PREFACE

In this short history of Scotland I have attempted to avoid the production of a mere chronological summary of events which, of late years, have been narrated in works on a larger scale. The series to which my volume belongs is concerned with the "Making of the Nations," and I have given a large proportion of my available space to the periods in which I think it possible to trace a real advance in the national development. The reigns of Malcolm Canmore and his immediate successors, in which the Celtic Kingdom of Scotland was profoundly affected by Anglo-Norman influences; the War of Independence, which revealed the consciousness of a national unity that had already been attained; and the long religious conflict which began with the Reformation and ended with the creation of Modern Scotland, have supplied me with my principal themes, and are narrated in some detail. For the rest, I have tried to give an intelligible outline of the sequence of events, but baronial struggles and the incessant border warfare find only incidental mention in my story. The quarrels of the Livingstones and the Crichtons in the minority of James II., or of Angus and Albany in the minority of James V., are merely interludes, and the Battle of Flodden itself is but a footnote to history, for, grave as were the effects of the disaster, they made no permanent modification in the relations between England and Scotland. Considerations of space have led me to omit many more important topics which cannot be briefly discussed. The events of the last hundred and fifty years, and the controversies relating to the earliest centuries of Scottish history, alike defy anything like compression, and, as it is impossible to say much, I have said almost nothing. For similar reasons I have been content with a few references to constitutional and administrative development, but to the history of Scottish institutions I hope to return in a larger work.

In all small volumes dealing with large subjects the selection of topics is the most difficult problem, and my personal choice is doubtless different from that which another writer would have made; such as it is, it represents the making of the nation as it appears to myself,

and, I venture to hope, to some of my readers.

Throughout the book I have set before me the aim of giving something of the impression which men and events made upon contemporaries or upon the earliest generation that wrote about them, and for this purpose I have often stated things in the words of chroniclers. diarists, and other original or early authorities. Where there is no special significance in the statement I have not burdened my pages with names and references. Where the identification of my authority seemed to me to be of any importance, I have given his name, date, and nationality. I have made special use of the numerous original authorities for the seventeenth century, and have relied much on the work of Robert Baillie, Principal of the University of Glasgow, and a Member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. The development of Baillie's opinions, as shown in his letters and diaries, seems to me indicative of the course taken by the national feeling between the Covenant of 1638 and the Restoration of 1660. Baillie began as a

moderate, and was originally prepared to consider favourably a new Prayer-Book; he was gradually driven into the extreme position adopted in the Solemn League, and at the close of his life he again represented the moderate Presbyterians. But I have not confined myself to evidence drawn from one source, and the reader will find other currents of opinion represented by quotation and allusion.

Ten years ago, in a work on The Relations between England and Scotland, I argued that the difference between the Highlanders and the Lowlanders of Scotland has been generally misunderstood and exaggerated, and that, apart from the large proportion of English blood in the Lothians and the Scandinavian influences which affected the north and west coasts, medieval Scotland was racially homogeneous and conscious of its unity. The generally received view was expressed in its most extreme form by Mr. John Richard Green, who went so far as to say that the farmers of Fife were, in the end of the thirteenth century, "stout-hearted Northumbrian Englishmen," and that "the coast districts north of the Tay were inhabited by a population of the same blood." A prolonged study of the subject has confirmed me in my own opinion, and I have incorporated in the present work some new evidence which seems to me to show that the farmers of Fife, or of the coast districts north of Tay, at the close of the Middle Ages, differed from the Highlanders only in speech and in civilization, not in race.

It is scarcely necessary to say that I am greatly indebted to recent writers, and especially to Professor Hume Brown and Mr. Lang, with both of whom I have had the privilege of discussing, at various times, some of the problems of Scottish history. I have also had the advantage of many conversations with Professor Dicey on the topic of the Union of 1707. I have found Sir Archibald

Lawrie's notes to his volume of Early Scottish Charters most suggestive, and I desire also to acknowledge my obligations to Mr. A. O. Anderson's Scottish Annals from English Chroniclers, of the translations in which I have

occasionally availed myself.

Several of the portraits which illustrate this volume have been specially photographed from the pictures in the possession of various private owners, who readily gave permission to allow the photographs to be taken. Besides thanking them, I have to acknowledge the courtesy of Messrs. James MacLehose and Sons for allowing reproductions to be made from Mr. James Curle's book "A Roman Frontier Post," of some examples of the important discoveries recently made at Newstead, near Melrose, and also the kindness of Lord Home and of the New Spalding Club for permissions in connection with the tomb of Sir James of Douglas and the portrait of Cardinal Beaton.

ROBERT S. RAIT.

New College, Oxford, October, 1911.

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IRON HELMET AND FACE-MASK DISCOVERED AT THE ROMAN STATION OF NEWSTEAD, NEAR MELROSE. Page 3,

SCOTLAND

CHAPTER I

THE BEGINNINGS

THE first of the hundred and one controversies that trouble the historians of Scotland is immortalized in an early chapter of *The Antiquary*, in which Mr. Jonathan Oldbuck and Sir Arthur Wardour refer their dispute to the arbitrament of Mr. Lovel:

"There was once a people called the Piks-"

"More properly Picts," interrupted the baronet.

"I say the Pikar, Pihar, Piochtar, Piaghter, or Peughtar," vociferated Oldbuck: "they spoke a Gothic dialect—"

"Genuine Celtic," asseverated the knight.

"Gothic! Gothic! I'll go to death upon it!" counterasseverated the squire.

The authorities whose names the angry gentlemen shouted in rapid succession to guide the umpire's opinion—"the learned Pinkerton," "the indefatigable and erudite Chalmers," Gordon, Sibbald, and Ritson—have been succeeded by the not less honoured names of Stuart and Skene and Stokes and Rhŷs, but the controversy is still where Mr. Lovel wisely left it. There was once a people called the Picts: they inhabited the North of Scotland, and, if they ever possessed a language of their own, they abandoned it, at some unknown date, for the speech which, in medieval times, was called Scots, in the days of

the Renaissance, Erse or Irish, and by eighteenth-century antiquaries was denominated Celtic. At the dawn of our national history the proper owners of this tongue, the Goidels or Gaels, shared with the Picts the country now known as Scotland. The Goidels never called themselves "Celts," nor did anyone apply the name to them until, in 1703, M. Paul Yves Pezron wrote his work on the people of Brittany, entitled Antiquité de la Nation et de la Langue des Celtes, autrement appellez Gaulois. The publication of this book drew attention to the fact that the language of Cæsar's Celts was related to the tongue of the people of Wales, and, less closely, to that of the Scottish Highlanders, and the name "Celtic," which ought to have been reserved for Brythonic or British Celts of Brittany and Wales, came to be given to the Goidels as well. It has long ago established itself in general usage.

When the Romans invaded this island, they found its northern portion inhabited by "Caledonians," i.e., Goidels and the mysterious Picts, who were perhaps of the same family as the Goidels, or may have been so widely different as not to be even Aryan in origin. The Romans did not trouble themselves about the divisions of the northern barbarians, and Latin literature has little to teach us about the race or races north of the Tyne or the Tweed. The administrators of Roman Britain found it necessary to subdue the Caledonians in order to protect the southern province from their incursions. In the first century. between the years 80 and 85, Agricola attempted to hold, by a series of forts, the line of Forth and Clyde, and he made punitive expeditions beyond the Forth. In one of these he fought the Battle of Mons Graupius, the unknown site of which Mr. Oldbuck identified with the Kaim of Kinprunes. The successors of Agricola maintained an uncertain hold upon his conquest, and about the year 120 the Emperor Hadrian abandoned it, and built a

wall to defend the country between the Tyne and the Solway. Twenty years later the Romans reverted to the policy of Agricola, and Lollius Urbicus built the wall of Antoninus Pius between the Forth and the Clyde, which was again abandoned about the year 180. The barbarian incursions continued throughout the whole of the Roman occupation, and in 208 they roused the aged Emperor Severus to undertake an invasion in which he punished the marauders, who attacked him as, in later days, the Scots were wont to meet English armies, avoiding a pitched battle, and seizing every opportunity of rearguard actions and surprises. About a century and a half elapsed before the Romans again attempted to avenge the woes of the province upon the persistent barbarians, and the expedition of Theodosius in 368 was their last effort to suppress the Caledonians.

Traces of the Roman invaders in the country beyond the Forth are few, though camps generally supposed to be Roman are found as far north as Aberdeenshire. The "great station at Ardoch" in Perthshire is the most northern site of anything more than an occasional encampment. Even in the district south of the wall of Antoninus Pius, though there are many indications of permanent Roman occupations, such as the recently investigated station at Newstead, on the Tweed, it is probable that Picts and Caledonians successfully resisted the advances of Roman civilization, and learned little from the conquerors. That Christianity reached the country under Roman auspices we know from the traditional story reported by the Venerable Bede, who tells how the Southern Picts "abandoned idolatry and embraced the truth by the preaching of the word of Bishop Ninian, a most reverend and holy man, of the nation of the Britons, who had at Rome been regularly instructed in the faith and mysteries of the truth." The name of Whithorn, on the shores of Wigtown Bay,

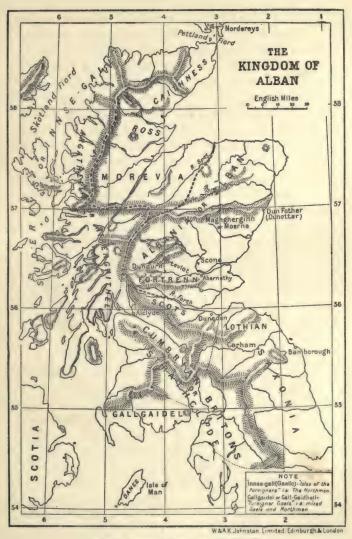
still preserves the memory of the Candida Casa, the white stone church which St. Ninian dedicated to the memory of his master, St. Martin of Tours; but with the passing of the Roman Eagles, Christianity died out, or preserved a

precarious life in North Britain.

The Anglo-Saxon conquest of England affected the making of Scotland in two ways. Brythonic or British Celts were driven into the mountains by Teutonic invaders, and they settled in the country between Cumberland and Dumbarton, except in the extreme south-west, where the Picts maintained themselves in the modern counties of Kircudbright and Wigtown. These "Picts of Galloway" retained a separate existence for some centuries, and the Gaelic tongue was spoken in parts of Wigtownshire as late as the beginning of the seventeenth century.* On the east coast the Angles spread northwards from their English settlements, and in the end of the sixth century their monarch held sway from the Humber to the Forth. The modern counties of Roxburgh, Berwick, Haddington, and Midlothian thus came to be part of the English kingdom of Northumbria; and though the English conquest was not so thorough as it was south of the Tweed, the population of this Lothian area must, from the earliest times, be sharply distinguished from that of the rest of the country. The Lothians are the only portion of Scotland in which we know definitely of a large influx of English blood.

About the time when the Brythons were being driven into the south-west, and before the Angles made any important settlement in the south-east, a new colony of Goidels established themselves in the west. These were the Scots, who, in the beginning of the fifth century, crossed from Ireland under their King, Fergus, and formed the kingdom of Dalriada, in the district now known as

^{*} New Statistical Account of Scotland, p. 219, Wigtown.



MAP OF SCOT-LAND AND PICT-LAND.

Argyllshire. The Scots were already Christian, and to the Court of Dalriada came a warrior-saint who was to leave a great impress upon the land. Columba, a member of a great Irish family, and a relation of the King of Dalriada, landed in 563, with twelve disciples, on the island of Hy, or Iona. His first task was to provide for the continuance of Christian teaching among the Scots, his second to convert the Picts. He accomplished both, and his haughty and, as it seems to us, vindictive temper was probably one of his great qualifications for the work. The men of Scot-land and of Pict-land had to be taught that the saint was a man to be feared and obeyed, and they learned the lesson. The King of Dalriada, the Aidan who was defeated by Ethelfrith of Northumbria in 603, owed to St. Columba the consolidation of the royal power in Dalriada and the recognition of the independent existence of his kingdom by the Irish and by the The Britons of Strathclyde had a missionary of their own in the person of St. Mungo or St. Kentigern. The Angles of Lothian were converted by Paulinus, and adopted Roman Christianity as contrasted with the Irish Christianity introduced by St. Columba; but after the Pagan reaction led by Penda of Mercia, the work of conversion had to be done over again, and this time it was done from Iona. The Angles did not long continue faithful to the Celtic Church, for in 664, at the Synod of Whitby, King Oswy entered the Roman obedience, and the followers of St. Columba abandoned Northumbria and the Lothians to the Roman clergy, who set themselves to convert the Picts to the Roman Church. In 710. Nectan, King of the Picts, imitated the example of Oswy, and ordered his clergy to follow the Roman usage with regard to Easter. The Scots of Dalriada soon accepted the Roman rules, which were obeyed even in Iona itself, but the Roman Church was not really established in Scotland for nearly four hundred years. Strathclyde remained Columban, and we know from the experiences of Queen Margaret, in the end of the eleventh century, that the Scots and Picts had retained, or relapsed into, the customs of their first great missionary. They did not adopt the diocesan organization, which from the time of Theodore of Tarsus was the great strength of the Church in England, nor were the Scottish clergy in real contact with Rome. The work of the Keledei or Culdees, the hermit "Friends of God" who laboured in the country north of the Forth, helped to maintain the distinctive character of Scottish Christianity.

The supremacy of Northumbria threatened the civil as well as the ecclesiastical independence of the kingdoms of North Britain, until, in 685, Eegfrith of Northumbria was defeated at Nectansmere (Dunnichen), in Forfarshire. The fall of Northumbria made way for the supremacy of the Picts in North Britain, and in the middle of the eighth century Angus MacFergus, King of the Picts, established some kind of authority over Dalriada and Strathclyde. His immediate successors failed to complete his work, and new invasions soon introduced a fresh element of division into the country. Norsemen had probably settled in Orkney and Shetland before the beginning of the ninth century, when Danish attacks began to be made upon the west coast of Scotland, and from the end of that century Norse settlements continued for three hundred years. The districts of Dumfriesshire and Galloway, all of the western islands, the west coast from the Firth of Clyde northwards, and the coasts from Caithness and Sutherland to the Moray Firth, were deeply affected by the influx of a Scandinavian population. The difference between Highland and Lowland Scots, outside the Lothians, was, through a great part of the Middle Ages, a difference between Scandinavian and Goidel.

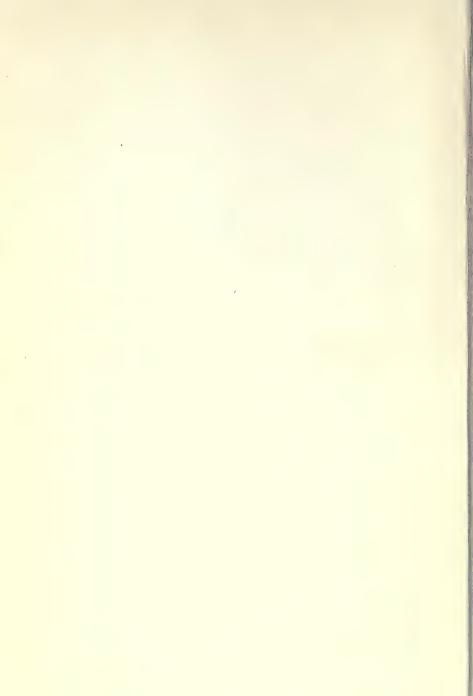
An immediate result of Danish forays and Norse settlements was the union of the Picts and the Scots. The two kingdoms had long been closely connected, and both owed ecclesiastical obedience, first to Iona, and, after the great Danish raid on Iona in 818, to Dunkeld. In 844, Kenneth MacAlpin, King of the Scots of Dalriada, succeeded to the throne of Pict-land, and the name of Scotland came to be used for the whole country except Strathclyde, Galloway, and the Lothians. Kenneth MacAlpin attempted in vain the conquest of the Lothians, and his successors were engaged in contests with Danes and Norwegians, who made successive invasions of Caithness and Sutherland. Constantine III., who reigned for the first half of the tenth century, secured the succession of a kinsman to the throne of Strathclyde, but made no progress towards the conquest of the Lothians. He united with the Britons of Strathelyde, and with the Danes, against Ethelstan of England, and was defeated at the Battle of Brunanburh, famous in English song. About 962 the King of the Scots obtained possession of Edinburgh and the south coast of the Firth of Forth, and Kenneth II. (971-995) greatly increased Scottish influence in the south-east. In 1018, Malcolm II., with the help of the Strathclyde monarch, defeated the Northumbrians at Carham, and annexed the Lothians. In the same year Malcolm's grandson, Duncan, the gentle Duncan of Shakespeare's Macbeth, succeeded to the throne of Strathclyde, and in 1034 he became King of the whole of the mainland of modern Scotland.

Duncan's authority over a large portion of his realm was merely nominal. The Scandinavians, whose possession of the Hebrides was undisputed, were the real rulers of large tracts in the West and in the North of Scotland, and the "Mormaers" of the northern provinces were almost independent Sovereigns in their own districts.





A BRONZE EWER AND TYPES OF ROMAN SHOES FOUND AT THE ROMAN STATION RECENTLY DISCOVERED AT NEWSTEAD, NEAR MELROSE, Page 4.



The relations of successive Scottish Kings to the Sovereigns of England gave rise in later days to the claim of Normans and Plantagenets to be overlords of Scotland. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, no unbiassed witness, is the only authority for the English claim, apart from ridiculous forgeries prepared for the edification of English monarchs. The Chronicle for 924 asserts that Edward the Elder "was chosen for father and lord by the King of Scots, and the whole nation of the Scots, and Regnwald, and the son of Eadulf, and all those who dwell in Northumbria, as well English as Danes, and Northmen and others, and also the King of the Strathclyde Welsh, and all the Strathclyde Welsh." Regnwald had died three years before, and the statement, though probably in a contemporary hand, is therefore open to suspicion. Another manuscript of the Chronicle tells that in 926 similar homage was done to Edward's successor, Athelstan, and that, on this occasion, the King of Scots gave up idolatry. Scotland had been Christian for more than three hundred vears. Such is the evidence for the "Great Commendation" which later lawyers interpreted as giving the Crown of England the rights of a feudal overlordship in Scotland. The Scots, on their part, have consistently declined to believe the "honest English" of the Chronicle.

Besides this general assertion of English suzerainty over the whole of Scotland, the chroniclers speak of a special English claim to Strathclyde. They tell us that in 945 Edmund of England helped Malcolm I. of Scotland to conquer Cumbria, and granted it to him on condition of his becoming his "fellow-worker" by land and sea, and that Malcolm and the Scots promised Edmund that "they would all that he would." If Cumbria included Strathclyde, it was not Edmund's to give, nor was his gift of any value, for many years elapsed before the union of

Scotland and Strathclyde. Later Scottish Kings preferred to consider Edmund's gift as consisting of the English district of Cumbria, to which this tradition gave them some claim. After the Norman Conquest an English writer invented a story, unknown to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, to the effect that King Edgar ceded Lothian to Kenneth II. of Scotland, and that Kenneth did homage for it. But the Lothians were the spoil of the Battle of Carham, fought more than twenty years after Kenneth's death, and to this great and memorable victory the kingdom of Scotland owed the possession of that district a possession which has profoundly affected the course of our national history. Canute confirmed the conquest in 1031, and the chronicler again tells of a homage which the King of Scots "not long held," adding, as usual an impossible statement—this time about Macbeth, who had not yet appeared on the stage of history. The whole overlordship controversy is, in fact, futile and academic. From very early times English Sovereigns wished to add Scotland to their dominions, and the ambition continued to be cherished almost until a Scotsman succeeded to the English throne. It was not a question of right, but a question of force, and it was to be settled, not by feudal interpretations of the vague assertions of chroniclers, but by the arbitrament of the sword.

The settlement was still in the distant future, and we return to the "aged Duncan" of the play, "so clear in his great office," whose happy reign was crowned by victory over the Norwegians. The Duncan of history was young, his title disputed, his arms unfortunate. He was defeated by the Northumbrians, and he suffered an overwhelming disaster at the hands of the Northmen, who had been the scourge of Scotland in the reigns of his father and grandfather. Six years after his accession to the Scottish throne he was killed in battle near Elgin (1040).

The civil war in which Duncan met his death was raised by his own general, Macbeth, Mormaer of Moray, whose wife and stepson had a shadowy claim on the crown. Macbeth ruled prosperously and efficiently for seventeen years, and survived an English invasion under Siward, Earl of Northumbria, whom later English historians represented as acting in the interest of the family of Duncan. Three years afterwards, in 1057, Malcolm, the eldest son of Duncan, defeated Macbeth at Lumphanan, in Aberdeenshire, and seized the throne. Malcolm III., known as Canmore or Bighead, began by suppressing Lulach, the stepson of Macbeth, and during the last vears of Edward the Confessor in England he made a ferocious raid into Northumbria, which he was often to waste with fire and sword. The death of Edward the Confessor in 1065 prepared the way for a new chapter of Scottish history.

CHAPTER II

ANGLICIZATION

In the course of the eleventh century there were two conquests of England. The first, the Danish Conquest under Canute, was almost coincident with the last glories of Celtic Scotland, the Battle of Carham and the annexation of the Lothians; the second, the Norman Conquest under William, was the prelude to a triumph of English speech and English civilization throughout a large portion of the kingdom of the Scots. When Edward the Confessor died, the direct representative of Alfred the Great was Edgar Atheling, a boy of about ten years, grandson of the hero Edmund Ironside. In the course of the struggle which followed the Norman invasion, Edgar and his sisters, Margaret and Christina, sought the protection of Malcolm Canmore, and, probably in 1070, Malcolm married Margaret, the elder of the two Prin-It is a small part of the importance of this marriage that it made the Royal House of Scotland, after the death of the childless Edgar, the legitimate heirs of the Saxon Monarchy, for theories of the indefeasible right of direct succession were as yet unknown. When the daughter of Malcolm and Margaret married Henry I., the English people rejoiced in a Queen of the "true kingly kin of England," but their joy was simply an outburst of national feeling. The eleventh-century union of the Thistle and the Rose played no part in the far-distant union of England

and Scotland, but it is one of the two or three most important factors in the making of the Scottish nation.

Margaret was, doubtless, a saint; she was also an Englishwoman. The narrative of her sanctity has been written by her confessor; it is, like so many similar biographies, enthusiastic and vague; it has much personal interest and some literary value, but as a record of profane history it has exasperated more than one historian of Scotland. She impressed her contemporaries as a holy matron, and Pope Innocent IV., a century and a half after her death, gave her the honours of canonization. To us she is more interesting as an Englishwoman, though, fortunately for her own peace of mind, her national and her ecclesiastical sympathies were never at variance. Her work in Scotland was a mission. She had wished to live a holy life as a virgin; and Providence, in decreeing for her a marriage with a Celtic monarch, had given her the opportunity of reforming Scottish religion and Scottish manners. It was her fate, she believed, to lead Romeward an ignorant and almost schismatic nation, to redeem from barbarity a savage King. The Scots, says the English chronicler, were more cruel than beasts, and the North of England suffered scarcely less from Malcolm than from William I. Margaret exercised a profound influence over her husband, but she never succeeded in persuading him to deal gently with his English foes. Nine years after their marriage it required a miracle to save from him the church of Hexham, and, in his last raid of all, he advanced, "harrying with more wantonness than behoved him." Foreign affairs he did not regard as within the sphere of womanly intervention; whether his view was right or wrong, his policy was almost uniformly unfortunate. The pleasure of ravaging from the Tees to the Tyne, an occupation to which Malcolm devoted his energies in 1070, had to be paid for two years later, when

William the Conqueror entered Scotland with an army, and received from its King a homage the meaning of which is uncertain, though its worthlessness cannot be doubted. In 1079, when William was in Normandy, Malcolm "did his old wont" between Tweed and Tyne, and provoked a reprisal from the Conqueror's eldest son, Robert, who took the opportunity of building a New Castle on the banks of the Tyne. After the death of William I., Malcolm invaded England, in 1091, in the interest of his brother-in-law the Atheling. He had less than his usual success as a raider, and Rufus returned from Normandy and marched into Lothian. A meeting between the two monarchs prevented any fighting, and the incident is not without its dramatic effect, for the peace-makers were none other than Robert of Normandy, to deal with whom William had left England, and Edgar the Atheling, as whose champion Malcolm had taken up arms. At this Lothian meeting Malcolm received from the Red King a confirmation of the lands which he claimed in England, and did such homage as he had done to his father. The faithless Rufus followed up the agreement by a conquest of Cumberland, and rebuilt the castle at Carlisle. Malcolm was justly incensed, but it happened that immediately afterwards the English King had his famous illness, when "he vowed many vows to God," and he summoned Malcolm to a meeting at Gloucester. "He came of his own accord," says an English chronicler, "praying much for peace, but only upon just conditions." By this time William had recovered, and when Malcolm came "he could not be held worthy of speech with our King, or of the agreements which had been formerly made with him, and therefore they parted in great enmity." Malcolm's revenge for William's insult was the occasion of his own death. He once more invaded England, and "Robert, the Earl of the Northumbrians, entrapped him unawares, and caused his end. Morel of Bamborough slew him: he was the Earl's steward and King Malcolm's comrade." The news of her husband's death at the hand of "his own gossip" was brought to Margaret on a November day in 1093 by her second son, Edgar; her eldest son, Edward, had been mortally wounded as he fought by his father's side in the skirmish at Alnwick, and died at Edward's Isle, in the Forest of Jedburgh. Edgar found his mother dying; she had already received the last sacraments of the Church, and in a few hours she was dead.

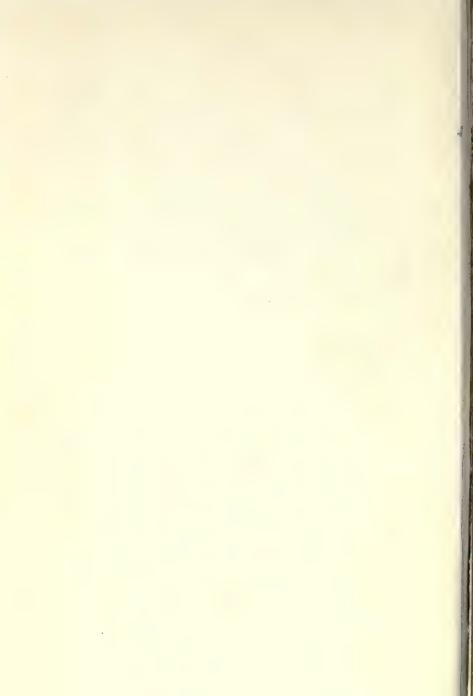
Succeeding generations have shown a true sense of proportion in ascribing the importance of the reign of Malcolm III. to Margaret rather than to her husband. The career of Malcolm is simply a version of the oft-told tale of Anglo-Scottish warfare; that of Margaret is the record of the beginnings of the real conquest of Scotland. The Queen set herself to bring Scotland into touch with the rest of Europe. She herself, though essentially English, had both German and Norman blood in her veins, and she had seen the life of the Church on the Continent as well as in England. The Celtic Church in Scotland offended her by its lack of efficient organization, its failure in the proper observance of Sunday, and its treatment of the early days of Lent. Possibly, in remote districts Mass was said in Gaelic; certainly all preaching was in Gaelic, for when the Queen held ecclesiastical councils to convince the Scottish clergy of the error of their ways, Malcolm himself had to interpret the arguments of his consort and her English clerks. The Gaelic tongue was thus associated with the Celtic Church, and the Queen waged a merciless and gradually successful warfare against both. The task was not accomplished in Margaret's lifetime, but the irrevocable step had been taken, and she left children to carry on her work. The

names of her sons suggest the influences she brought into Scotland. No one of the six bore the name of any previous King of Scotland; four had names of Saxon Kings of England—Edward, Edmund, Ethelred, Edgar.

Church and Court were aided by a third and not less potent influence. Scottish commerce was beginning to have a history, and that history is English. The rise of the towns on the east coast was the result of English trade, and such Continental influences as we can trace came by way of England. How far did Queen Margaret and her Court, or the English traders and their commerce, bring English blood into Scotland? It is not easy to say. Doubtless there were English exiles who fled before the Normans when William the Conqueror harried the North, and there were English captives of Malcolm's wars. Symeon of Durham draws a highly coloured picture of Malcolm's ravages, and says that "Scotland was filled with slaves and handmaids of English race, so that even to this day [circa 1120] cannot be found, I do not say a hamlet, but even a hut, without them." It is a kind of statement characteristic of the medieval compiler of chronicles: there is never any lack of superlatives. What Symeon knew about the huts and hamlets of Scotland we cannot tell: the sentence is a pretty embellishment of things which he considered "too impious to hide in silence." William's victims in the North were numerous. and the country was thinly populated. The bodies of the inhabitants of Yorkshire were, Mr. Freeman tells us, "rotting in the streets, in the highways, or on their own hearthstones." How many of them lived to tell in Scottish exile the tale of "that fearful deed, half of policy, half of vengeance, which has stamped the name of William with infamy"? Conjectures are vain, but we cannot be far wrong in believing that some English immigration of exiles and captives aided the work of Mar-



IONA CATHEDRAL AND ST. MARTIN'S CROSS FROM THE WEST, BEFORE RESTORATION. Page 16. The earliest portion of the building belongs to the thirteenth century.



garet's twenty-five years of Anglicization. The natural refuge for English exiles was the Lothians, and there is no evidence, outside of the Lothians, of any influx of Saxons large enough to render English blood predominant in Scotland in the following century; we have yet to trace the predominance of English speech and manners, for Lowland Scotland was not Anglicized in a quarter of a century.

The work of Margaret and Malcolm seemed at first to have ended in failure, for it was followed by four years of a Celtic reaction. Their sons were unable to secure the succession, and, in accordance with a not infrequent Celtic practice, the crown passed to Malcolm's brother, Donald Bane. The narrative may best be told in the words of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle:

"And then the Scots chose as King, Donald, Malcolm's brother, and drove out all the English who were with King Malcolm before. When Duncan, King Malcolm's son, who was in King William's Court-inasmuch as his father had formerly given him as a hostage to our King's father [William the Conqueror], and he had remained here ever since—heard that all this had so happened, he came to the King, and did such fealty as the King would have of him, and so went to Scotland with what aid he could get of English and French, and deprived his kinsman Donald of the kingdom, and was received as King."

The Scots had repudiated English influences in the person of Margaret's son Edgar only to encounter them in the person of a son of Malcolm, born either of a previous marriage or out of wedlock. But the force of the Celtic reaction was not yet spent, for Duncan's throne was very insecure. In 1093 he was compelled to promise that "he would no more introduce into Scotland either English or Normans, or allow them to give him military service"; in the following year "the Scots deceived and slew Duncan their King, and thereafter took to themselves again as

King, a second time, his paternal uncle Donald, by whose direction and instigation Duncan was betrayed to death."

Donald was in alliance with Edmund, "the only son of Margaret, who fell away from the good." They agreed to a partition of Scotland, and with the help of the Mormaer of Mearns defeated and slew Duncan at Mondynes, in Kincardineshire. Edmund took the country south of the Forth, and Donald ruled over the north. It seemed as if the northern portion of the kingdom had freed itself from English civilization by the sacrifice of the Lothians; but Fortune was fickle, and an unexpected champion of Anglicization arose. The Atheling, whom William Rufus seems to have been sufficiently confiding to trust with an army, invaded Scotland in the interest of his nephew Edgar, and put an end to the three years' disruption of the kingdom (1094-1097). The usurpers were defeated and imprisoned, and for ten years Edgar reigned over a united Scotland. His uncle, the Atheling, disappears from Scottish history after this, his only successful exploit: he had yet to go on a Crusade and to fight against Henry I. at Tenchebrai before his chequered career came to an end.

The most important event of Edgar's reign is the marriage of his sister Matilda to Henry I. in 1100. The Princess had been educated under the care of her mother's sister Christina in an English nunnery, where her father visited her, probably on the occasion of his ill-starred visit to Gloucester in 1093, and found her veiled. With a curse upon "Aunt Christina," who shared St. Margaret's admiration for the life of a nun, Malcolm had torn off the veil, and now King Henry succeeded in convincing St. Anselm that she had never been really professed. Edgar had owed his throne to William II., and he was throughout his reign on good terms with England. The relations beween the two Courts became more intimate after the marriage of Matilda, the "good Queen Mold"

of English tradition. Edgar himself was amiable, weak, and fortunate. Ailred, or Ethelred, * the Abbot of Rievaulx, who, though he never saw Edgar, was at the Court of his brother David, compares him to Edward the Confessor-"sweet and lovable, employing no tyranny, no harshness, no greed against his people." Magnus Barefoot of Norway in 1098 ravaged the "Sudreys," the Hebrides south of Ardnamurchan Point, whose ancient name is still preserved in the title of the Bishopric of Sodor and Man, and threatened the mainland of Scotland. Edgar secured the peace of the country by abandoning any claim to the western islands, and the power of Norway was unquestioned from the Orkneys to the Isle of Man. It must have cost the son of St. Margaret but a slight pang to part with Iona. Himself an Englishman in feeling, Edgar seems to have decided that the best solution of the Anglo-Celtic problem was to accept the facts of the situation. The Lothians were English; let them remain so, but why risk civil war by attempting to Anglicize the North? Hence he deserted his father's home at Dunfermline for the Lothian capital at Edinburgh, and there he held his English Court. Hence, too, in addressing his subjects, he openly admitted their division into "Scots and English," and before his death, in 1107, he made an arrangement by which he hoped to prevent the recurrence of the troubles which had preceded his own accession. His brother Alexander was to succeed to the throne, but David was to govern the Lothians and Strathclyde. It has been assumed by Scottish historians that David was to be entirely independent of Alexander; but the fact that Edinburgh was to be held by the latter suggests that the ruler of the Lothians was intended to hold no higher position than that of a provincial governor, and it is significant that the English chroniclers lay no

^{*} Born about 1109; died 1166.

stress on the division of the Scottish kingdom. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle simply says that Alexander succeeded Edgar, with King Henry's consent. Even the Abbot of Rievaulx, who knew David well, and "loved him beyond all mortals," makes only an incidental reference in quoting a speech made before the Battle of the Standard, in which Robert Bruce tells David that it was in fear of the Norman nobles that Alexander allowed him to obtain without bloodshed "the part of the kingdom which Edgar bequeathed" to him. The words do not necessarily mean sovereignty, and it is by no means certain either that it existed or was intended to exist. Later Scottish historians, like Wyntoun and Fordun, do not refer to the division; and though the Register of the Bishopric of Glasgow speaks of David as princeps et dux of the Cumbrian district, its language does not imply independence of Alexander. The division itself was not strictly logical, for Strathelyde was not English, and, as far as race was concerned, should have gone with the country north of the Forth; but the Strathclyde Celts had not yet been troublesome, and there was good geographical reason for the arrangement. There was, too, a further advantage, in that the English claims to the overlordship of Strathclyde and the Lothians might thus be, for practical purposes, recognized by David, without prejudice to the title of the King of Scots.

Alexander, whether from fear of the Normans or not, accepted the exclusion of a portion of the kingdom from his immediate government, but he did not regard Edgar's settlement as securing the Celtic character of the North. Like his mother, and Edgar himself, he was English and devout. He was literate, says Ailred, humble, and amiable to the clergy, zealous in founding churches, charitable to the poor, but "to the rest of his subjects beyond measure terrible: a man of great heart, applying

himself in all things beyond his strength." Force of circumstances compelled him to associate more with the old Celtic nobility than did either the brother who preceded or the brother who followed him. Wyntoun tells more than once how the King returned "hame agayne to Invergowry," and it is with Invergowrie in Perthshire that his name is associated. But he had no scruples in using the influences both of the Church and of the Court to introduce English influences north of the Forth. The men of Moray and of the Mearns rebelled against him, as they had rebelled against his half-brother Duncan, but with less success, for he punished them so severely as to gain for himself the name of "the Fierce." We know little of this Highland revolt: the interest of the chroniclers of Alexander's reign was absorbed by a great ecclesiastical dispute. The promise of the conversion of Scotland to Roman Christianity suggested a method of strengthening the English claims to overlordship by the inclusion of Scotland within the province of York. Alexander was no friend to the Culdees, the protagonists of Celtic Christianity. He founded several houses of Austin Canons: the greatest of them was the monastery of Scone, which he filled with English monks in gratitude for his victory over the men of Moray. He assisted the Roman organization by the foundation of the Sees of Moray and Dunkeld, and, on his accession, he filled up the bishopric of St. Andrews, which had been vacant since the death of the last Celtic Bishop in 1093. He chose, for this purpose, Turgot, his mother's confessor and biographer. A question immediately arose as to Turgot's consecration. He was Prior of Durham, and he wished to be consecrated by the Archbishop of York, who claimed jurisdiction over Scotland. Alexander's love for England and for Rome was not strong enough to overbear his sense of what was fitting for a King of Scotland. He consented, indeed, to

Turgot's consecration, "saving the rights" of the Churches of St. Andrews and of York alike, but when he found that the new Bishop really regarded himself as a suffragan of York, he made his position impossible, and Turgot retired from the unfriendly Culdees of St. Andrews, to die in peace at Durham in 1115. The claim of York to authority over Scotland was disputed at Canterbury, for Gregory the Great had given to St. Augustine authority over "all the priests in Britain." Alexander, on Turgot's death, invited the Archbishop of Canterbury to send as Bishop of St. Andrews the historian Eadmer, the friend and biographer of St. Anselm. Eadmer came to Scotland, but he was never consecrated. "Not for all Scotland will I renounce being a monk of Canterbury." he said; and Alexander realized that he had made a second blunder. Eadmer returned to England, an attempt at reconciliation failed, and the see was vacant until the death of Eadmer, who, though never consecrated, had been duly elected and invested. Just before his own death, Alexander was able to make his first successful nomination to the See of St. Andrews. He chose Robert, the Prior of his new monastery at Scone, and the question of consecration was settled, though not until after Alexander's death, by the performance of the rite by the Archbishop of York, again without prejudice either to the claims of his own see or to the freedom of the Scottish Church. Alexander knew that Robert was Roman enough and English enough to deal sternly with the Culdees, but not sufficiently English to compromise the claims of Scotland to ecclesiastical independence, and he signalized his appointment by the restoration to the Church of St. Andrews of the land known as the Boar's Chase, in the neighbourhood of the town, where the traditional boar, familiar to readers of Boece, had been captured in prehistoric days. In April, 1124, Alexander died. He left no child-fortunately, if we accept an English chronicler's account of his wife, Sybilla, an illegitimate daughter of Henry I. and his brother David reigned in his stead.

Under David I. (1124-1153) the Lowlands made rapid progress towards the complete adoption of English civilization. The influences which had been at work in Scotland since 1066 had never been those of Saxon England before the Conquest. The career of Edgar the Atheling shows how far the survivors of the Saxon Royal House were from adopting an attitude of irreconcilable antagonism to the Normans: Queen Margaret herself had been "the beloved daughter in the Lord" of Lanfranc, the Norman Archbishop of Canterbury, and her son Edgar owed his throne to Norman authority. Under David, Norman influence became predominant. He had lived for some years at the Court of his brother-in-law, Henry I., and he married the widow of a Norman Baron. His work is thus summarized by his panegyrist, Ailred:

"The whole barbarity of his nation was softened, and immediately submitted itself to a King of so great benevolence and humility: as if forgetting their natural fierceness, they submitted their necks to the laws which the royal gentleness dictated, and received with gladness the peace which till then they did not know."

The same impression was left upon succeeding generations of Scotsmen. "He did his utmost," says John of Fordun,* about two centuries after his death, "to draw on his rough and boorish people towards quiet and chastened manners." Ailred unduly minimizes the difficulties which David had to meet, but he knew well the strength of the forces behind the King. Church, Court, Law, and Commerce combined to lay the foundations of the struc-

^{*} An Aberdeen priest, died about 1384; wrote part of the Scotichronicon.

ture of Anglo-Norman civilization in Scotland. It is in the reign of David I. that the Culdees were finally crushed. The extension of the diocesan episcopate in his reign placed the Roman Church, if not at once in supreme control over Scotland, yet in a position which assured the ultimate possession of such control. Alexander had founded the Sees of Moray and Dunkeld, and David, as Earl, had restored the bishopric of Glasgow; as King, he created the Sees of Aberdeen, Ross, Caithness, Brechin, Dunblane, and Galloway. Divisions into parishes soon followed the creation of dioceses, and the Church in Scotland became fully organized. The foundation of a large number of important religious houses, including Holyrood, Melrose, Kelso, and Dryburgh in the South, and Cambuskenneth and Kinross north of the Forth, made David, in the words of his less pious successor, James I., a "sair sanct for the Crown." It would be absurd to accuse David of lack of generosity, but his donations were not confined to royal revenues, for Culdee houses were used for the endowment of bishoprics or transferred to The history of the Culdee Priory of Lochnew owners. leven is an illustration of the royal methods:

"Know ye that I have granted and given the island of Lochleven to the Canons of St. Andrews, that there they may settle an order of Canons, and the Culdees who shall be found there, if they wish to live in obedience to the Rule, may remain in peace with them and under them. But if any of them should offer resistance, I will and command that they be cast out of the island."

Royal injunctions could not change, within the limits of a single reign, the religious customs of a nation, and we find references to the Culdees long after this, though it was only here and there that they succeeded in maintaining their existence. The St. Andrews Culdees were strong enough to secure from David better terms than

their brethren at Lochleven, for if they refused to become Canons Regular, they were to be left undisturbed for their lifetime, and Culdees gave trouble to the Bishop of St. Andrews as late as 1309. A contemporary English chronicler, Gervase of Canterbury, says that there were Culdee houses in the bishoprics of St. Andrews, Dunkeld, Brechin, Ross and Dunblane in the beginning of the thirteenth century, and we find them still at Brechin in the fourteenth century: so that it took nearly two hundred years to root them out. The fate of the Culdees decided. to a considerable extent, the fortunes of the Gaelic tongue in the district between the Moray Firth and the Forth; for the Roman Church discouraged the use of Gaelic, even in cases when it was the duty of a layman to baptize an infant on the point of death. Twelfth-century grants made to the Clerks of Deer are recorded in Gaelic in the Book of Deer, a volume containing Latin versions of portions of the Gospels, a fragment of an Office for the Visitation of the Sick, and the Apostles' Creed. These entries are an indication of the language of Aberdeenshire in the middle of the twelfth century. Mr. Magnus Maclean, in his Literature of the Celts, points out that, in the Book of Deer,

"There is no hint of any language other than Latin and Gaelic. . . . [The Gaelic entries] all relate to grants of land and other privileges given from time to time to the monastery of that name. At Banff and Aberdeen, in the early part of the twelfth century, the book was produced in the King's courts in evidence of the rights of the clerics to the land in question, and their claim was thereby substantiated. The entries were made at different times, from the end of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century down to the middle of the twelfth."

David gave a charter to these Aberdeenshire Culdees, and it is possible that this charter was connected with

some change in their organization. Early in the thirteenth century they seem to have disappeared, for in 1219 a Cistercian monastery was founded at Deer, and it is probably to the influence of these Cistercian monks that we should trace in part the supersession of Gaelic by the Aberdeenshire Doric of the Buchan district.

The English tongue prevailed in the Court as well as in the Church, and David's grants of land to his courtiers played no less a part in the Anglicization of Scotland than did the organization of diocesan episcopacy or the foundation of religious houses. David, like Edward the Confessor, felt deeply the fascination of the brave and handsome Norman nobles who were, in the twelfth century as in the eleventh, wandering over Europe in search of lands not less than of adventure. The witnesses of his charters were usually the bearers of Norman names; the greatest names of Scottish history—the Bruces and the Stewarts (FitzAlans)—are among those on whom he conferred great tracts of country. Edgar addressed his subjects as "Scots and English": David recognizes "French" as well. The significance of David's grants of land is of supreme importance in any discussion of the problem of the racial complexion of Scotland. It is important to realize their extent. To Robert de Brus was given in 1124 the territory of Annandale, extending over 200,000 acres, and including some twenty parishes; to De Moreville David granted Cunningham, the northern division of Ayrshire; and to FitzAlan large portions of Kyle (Mid-Ayrshire) and of the county of Renfrew. These districts were not in rebellion, and we read of no dispossession of existing owners, no displacement of an old population. It has been suggested that there was much waste land in the Scotland of David I., but Cunningham and Kyle and Renfrew were not uninhabited. The explanation is that David did not interfere with the

ownership of land as it existed before these grants: the result of his intervention was ultimately to confirm it. What he gave to his Norman friends consisted rather of rights over land than of land itself. The old landowners became the tenants of the new landlord, and passed under his influence. Their rights were secured to them by charters from their new lord, and they were not unwilling to exchange the uncertain title of ancient custom for the written bond. The ancient land system had not been tribal; the land was held by the near kin of the senior of each family, and the majority of the tribe had little to lose by the new system of tenure. The cottars remained cottars, and the serfs continued to be serfs. The new tenant-in-chief, who held directly from the King, and of whom all lesser tenants held their lands, built castles and lived in them with his family and retainers. He became the centre of provincial life, and a petty King upon his wide domain. The band of personal followers whom he had brought with him, or attracted to his standard, were not merely his bodyguard and the instruments wherewith he carried out his purposes. They changed the civilization of the neighbourhood, and the older inhabitants followed their manner of life and accepted their tradition of obedience to their lord: when surnames became usual. they called themselves by his name. Thus were formed, in the reigns of David and his successors, the great Scottish families. There was an influx of fresh blood, an intermarrying, a change of custom, a gradual change of speech; but there is no evidence of any racial displacement.

What David had done was, in fact, to introduce the feudal system into Scotland. The new great men of the kingdom held of him by written charters, and the old Celtic nobility were glad to follow their example, and to secure their rights. Alexander and David held Great

Councils, like those of the Norman Kings of England, and introduced into the kingdom the feudal officers who superseded the old Mormaers with whom the Kings had taken counsel. The Constable, the Justiciar, the Chancellor, the Chamberlain, the Steward, and the Marshal, all date from the reigns of the sons of Queen Margaret, and all, or almost all, the first holders of these offices were Anglo-Normans. The De Morevilles became hereditary Constables of the kingdom, the FitzAlans hereditary Stewards.

"Forgetting their natural fierceness," says David's friend and admirer, Ailred, "the Scots submitted their necks to the laws which the royal gentleness dictated," There came a day when the natural fierceness was remembered, for David's measures were too far-reaching to escape opposition from a people who not long before had insisted that all Englishmen and Frenchmen should be driven from the land. In 1130, Angus, the Earl of Moray, and his brother Malcolm MacHeth raised a rebellion while David was on a visit to Henry I. The Constable led a royal force against them, and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle tells that "Angus was slain by the Scots army, and a great slaughter was there made with him. There was God's right avenged on him, because he was all forsworn." But Malcolm maintained the struggle for five years, until David summoned Barons from the North of England to his aid, captured Malcolm, and made large grants of land in Moray to his Anglo-Norman friends. There is a strange tale of one Wimund, an episcopal impostor, who pretended to be a son of Angus, and gave David some trouble in his later years. The English chronicler, William of Newburgh,* who knew him when he was a blind prisoner in the Abbey of Byland, says

^{*} Born 1136, died about 1198; author of the Historia Rerum Anglicarum.

that he was an obscure and unlettered Englishman, who began life as an incompetent antiquary, and was made Bishop of Man because he was eloquent, robust, and cheerful. If this is so, his achievement is the more remarkable, for he seems to have roused the Highlands and islands, and to have been so successful in raiding Scotland that David was glad to make terms with him, and gave him Furness Abbey and a district of Cumbria. The story of his fall does not belong to Scottish history. The whole episode might be dismissed as the product of Wimund's imagination, were it not that the tale of William of Newburgh, to whom the poor old man boasted of his deeds, is confirmed by Ailred. Newburgh and Rievaulx were near each other, and Ailred may have learned the story from William, but he is not likely to have been deceived about the occurrence of a serious insurrection in Scotland.

Celtic Scotland might rage against David's new friends, but to the influence of Church and Land and Law in his reign was being added the effect of the growth of commerce. Fordun tells us that David "enriched the ports of his kingdom with foreign merchandise, and to the wealth of his own land added the riches and luxuries of foreign nations, changing its coarse stuffs for precious vestments, and covering its ancient nakedness with purple and fine linen." John of Fordun was a fourteenthcentury Aberdonian who possessed a conscientious objection to the kilt, and rejoiced that in his own good town the inhabitants were a decent, peaceful, and respectable dress, quite unlike the unsightly garb of their countrymen in the Highlands. His words imply that the Scots between the Moray Firth and the Forth were led to abandon the ancient dress by the increase of wealth which began in the reign of David. It is not improbable, for we know that there came to Scotland in the twelfth

century many foreign merchants, Flemish as well as English. Flemings settled in large numbers along the East Coast, from Berwick to Inverness, and there are many traces of them in Aberdeenshire. The Flemings were weavers from of old, and with the new cloths the Scots would also learn new fashions. They certainly learned the word "tailor," which about this time was borrowed by Gaelic from English. There were, of course, towns in Scotland before the reign of David, and there were already federations of burghs north and south of the Grampians. The northern burghs were Aberdeen, Banff, Elgin, Forres, Nairn, and Inverness. The southern federation, consisting of the four burghs of Berwick, Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling, developed ultimately into the Convention of Royal Burghs, which played a great part in the national life. There were no Royal Burghs till the reign of David's grandson, William the Lion; but codes of burghal regulations were drawn up in David's reign, and the King granted many privileges to burgesses and merchants. He confirmed to them the right of choosing their own magistrates, he gave them monopolies within their own districts, and he encouraged fishing and weaving. He stimulated the commercial enterprise of the great religious houses, which engaged both in trading and in banking. The fisheries of the Abbot of Holyrood received his protection, and the Abbot of Dunfermline was given freedom from customs for his ship. The Flemish trade of the monks of Melrose was so important that they were granted special privileges by the Count of Flanders. All over Scotland religious houses were endowed with revenues derived from the customs, and their interest in commercial prosperity was correspondingly increased.

Burghal laws and burghal privileges in Scotland were largely, though not entirely, based on English precedents,

and there can be no doubt that the population of the towns on the East Coast was affected by an influx of Englishmen and Flemings. William of Newburgh, a contemporary chronicler, speaking of a later period in the twelfth century, asserts that "the towns and burghs of the Scottish kingdom are known to be inhabited by Englishmen." There certainly were Englishmen in them, but if William meant to say that the population was English, he must have been availing himself of the chronicler's privilege of exaggeration, as did William of Malmesbury when he asserted that London was a Danish town at the beginning of the reign of Edward the Confessor. General statements of this kind have little value, whether they are made in the twelfth century or in the twentieth, and medieval chroniclers' estimates of figures are peculiarly fallacious. The fact that the Commons House of Parliament in 1340 imagined that there were 45,000 parishes in England, instead of about 9,000, illustrates the value of general impressions, and we need not pay too much attention to vague statements made by English writers about Scotland. The nineteenthcentury writer in the Encyclopædia Metropolitana, who located Aberdeen on the banks of the Forth, was probably as good an authority upon Scottish burghs as William of Newburgh. Yet there was some justification for William's statement. The town population in the Lothians was chiefly composed of English and Flemings, and, as we have said, the presence of Englishman and Fleming in the towns north of the Forth is undeniable. In the interior of Aberdeenshire, Gaelic names are to English as three to one, on the coast as two to three. It must, however, be remembered that English names are not necessarily a proof of English race. Some of the town-names, like Turnberry on the coast of Ayr, and Burghead on the Moray Firth, were doubtless given by Englishmen as English commerce opened up new seaports; but others are translations or corruptions of Gaelic names, which ceased to be familiar to a people who were becoming English-speaking. Thus Edderton, near Tain, though sufficiently English in appearance, is Eadar duin, "the town between the hillocks"; Falkirk, the fourteenth-century Fawkirc (Varia Capella), is a translation of Eaglais breac, "the speckled church"; Earlston is Ercheldon or Ercildune; Almond is a corruption of Amhuinn, a river; and Glen Howl is Gleann-a-ghabail, "the glen of the fork."

The racial complexion of Scotland in the twelfth century deserves more study than it has received. It has been too readily assumed that the whole of the coast counties between Fife and Inverness were, at some period, subjected to what amounted to a racial displacement. Except for a doubtful statement with regard to Moray, no evidence in support of this theory has ever been produced, and we have therefore discarded it here. English historians, bent on defending Edward I., have found it useful to assume that the farmers and artisans of Fife and of the coast districts north of the Tay were "Northumbrian Englishmen" who unnaturally opposed an English monarch. Sir Walter Scott had found a similar assumption equally useful for romance, and it has received ready acquiescence. We have tried to summarize such evidence as exists. It shows that English landowners came to Scotland with bodies of retainers, that English clerks became Scottish Bishops and monks, that English traders opened up Scottish commerce. It shows that English civilization and law, and the religion and the language of England, gradually superseded the customs and the language of the Gaels. But change of speech does not imply change of race, and not only is there no positive evidence of a racial displacement, but there are

distinct indications of its absence. In spite of English, French, and Scandinavian influences, Celtic place-names in Scotland outnumber all others by nearly ten to one.* Again, there is no evidence in medieval Scottish history or literature of anything like racial antagonism. bitter consciousness of racial difference which existed between the English and the Welsh, and between the English and the Irish, finds no parallel in Scotland. Writer after writer tells us that the Highlanders are Scotsmen who have retained the ancient Scottish customs and the ancient Scottish tongue. "The wild Scots speak Irish," wrote John Major in the reign of James IV.; "the civilized Scots use English. But most of us spoke Irish a short time ago." "Those of us who live on the borders of England," says his contemporary, Hector Boece, "have forsaken our own tongue and learned English, being driven thereto by wars and commerce. But the Highlanders remain just as they were in the time of Malcolm Canmore, in whose days we began to adopt English manners." The same view is expressed by two foreign observers, contemporaries of Major and Boece-Pedro de Ayala, the Spanish Ambassador, and Polydore Vergil, the historian.

We have been tracing, from the reign of Malcolm Canmore to that of David I., the beginnings in the Lowlands of influences similar to those which have affected the Highlands since the suppression of the last Jacobite rising. They had already produced important effects within the "Sixty Years Since" of the second title of Waverley, and they are still in operation. The Skye of to-day is not the Skye which Dr. Johnson saw in 1773, but there has been no racial dispossession, only the silent conquest of civilization and language. The difference between Skye and Forfar is that the influences which

^{*} Johnston, Place-Names of Scotland, p. xvii.

have been at work on the west coast for a hundred and sixty years have been in operation on the east coast for eight centuries. There have been those who anticipated a more rapid change in the west. Sir Thomas Craig, the learned Scottish lawyer and statesman of the reign of James VI., thought that the Anglicization of the Highlands would take place within the seventeenth century, and his words, recently published for the first time, are a fresh illustration of our argument.

"I myself remember the time when the inhabitants of the shires of Stirling and Dumbarton spoke pure Gaelic. But nowadays that tongue is almost relegated to Argyll and the Orkneys, so that one rarely comes upon any who speak it. There is not a single chieftain in the Highlands and islands who does not either speak or at least understand English; and even in the Orkneys and Shetland, where in the course of this [the sixteenth] century nothing but Norse was spoken, the ministers of God's word now use English in church, and are well enough understood. Many also write in that language, and if (as I understand is the case) a London Merchant Company is to be formed to exploit the fishing in Skye and the Lewis, and if in consequence troops are sent thither and a settlement is made for the workmen employed in the fishing, and if schools are established, I have not the slightest doubt that before the [seventeenth] century is over Gaelic will no longer be spoken on the mainland and islands of Scotland." *

The words were a prophecy not destined at once to be fulfilled, but they are also a history of what had actually happened in the Lowlands. The influences of landlords, settlements, the Church, education, and commerce, had changed the face of one portion of Scotland as Sir Thomas Craig thought they were about to change the face of

^{*} De Unione Regnorum Britanniæ, translated by Terry. Scot. Hist. Society.

another portion. We shall have opportunities of showing that Scottish history does not bear out Mr. Freeman's contention that the narrative of Anglo-Scottish warfare is the story of how "the true Scots, out of hatred to the 'Saxons' nearest to them, leagued with the Saxons farther off"; but it is necessary to introduce the topic at this point, even at the cost of anticipating the course of events by many centuries.

The discussion, indeed, is intimately connected with the most important event in the Anglo-Scottish history of the reign of David I., of which we have still to speak. We have said that he had married the widow of a Norman Baron; it is even more important that the lady was the daughter of the murdered Waltheof of Huntingdon, and granddaughter of Siward, Earl of Northumbria, and that David received with her the earldom of Huntingdon, and a claim to the earldom of Northumberland. Queen Mold" had not failed to consider her brother's material interests, but claims, and even lands, in England were a dangerous possession for the King of Scots. While Henry I. lived. David was content with the lands. scattered over several English counties, which made up the Honour of Huntingdon: but on the death of his brother-in-law he made a great effort to secure his wife's heritage of Northumberland. Henry died in December, Seven years before, he had summoned the great men of England to Windsor to swear that they would secure the inheritance of the crown of England to his daughter, Matilda, the widow of the Emperor Henry V., and David, as Earl of Huntingdon, had been the first English layman to take the oath. On the accession of Stephen, the King of Scotland, "not unmindful of his oath," and even more mindful of his interests, harried Northumbria with fire and sword, took possession of the country up to the Tees, and laid siege to Durham. "What

he has taken guilefully, I will retake victoriously," said Stephen, whose spirit was not yet broken by years of adversity; and he marched northwards "with so great an army as none could remember to have been in England before." The two monarchs came to terms. David, "influenced both by the mildness of Stephen's manners and by the approach of old age, gladly yielded to the repose of real or pretended peace," and he was satisfied to retain Carlisle and restore Newcastle and his other conquests. His son, Prince Henry, "did homage to King Stephen, and the King gave him Carlisle and Doncaster, besides his father's earldom of Huntingdon." Stephen also hinted at the possibility of a grant of Northumbria, and he irritated the Archbishop of Canterbury by placing Prince Henry at his right hand at a feast in London. The courtiers retaliated by some insult to Henry, and David refused to allow him to accept any more invitations to Stephen's Court. He was probably already meditating his second invasion of England, the most important event of which was the Battle of the Standard. In 1137. at the head of an army, he demanded his son's maternal inheritance of Northumbria. Stephen "by no means agreed," and early in 1138 David entered England with his following of men, "neither subdued by bitter cold nor stunted by severe hunger, and confident in their light armour and their swiftness of foot." The English chroniclers surpass themselves in describing the horrors of the march of "that execrable army, savager than any race of heathen, honouring neither God nor man"; and, conventional as the descriptions are, it is, unfortunately, impossible to doubt that the ferocity of David's army must remain a grave stain upon his reputation. He was, indeed, a "sair sanct" for the North of England. Stephen, also at the head of an army, avenged David's victims by harrying in Scotland before the English faced







Alexander I. (1107-1124).

David I. (1124-1153).





Alexander II. (1214-1249).



Alexander III. (1249-1286).

OBVERSE OF THE GREAT SEALS OF SOME OF THE EARLY SCOTTISH KINGS.

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the Scots on the field, and it was not until August 22, 1138, that the two armies met at Cowton Moor, near Northallerton.

The English chroniclers represent the Anglo-Norman Barons, who possessed lands both in Scotland and England, as doing their utmost to bring about a reconciliation, and tell how Robert de Bruce and Bernard de Balliol tried in vain to dissuade David from fighting. Ailred of Rievaulx puts into the mouth of Bruce a long speech, the chief interest of which is that it indicates what the chronicler himself believed to be the foundations of David's authority. Bruce protests against "attacking with arms to-day those by whose aid hitherto thou hast ruled the Scots by affection, the Galwegians by terror," and he addresses David in words which show the intimacy in which the Scottish King lived with the Anglo-Norman Barons, the friends of his youth at the English Court, the recipients of his generosity in Scotland. The appeal was unheeded and Bruce and Balliol returned to the English army. Perhaps David would have yielded if he could, but his wild host, inspirited by a victory in a skirmish at Clitheroe in the preceding June, was not to be restrained. The Scottish army is described by the English chroniclers as composed of Frenchmen, Angles, Picts, and Scots. The Frenchmen were David's new landowners, knights in coats of mail; the Angles were the English of Lothian, and retainers of Anglo-Norman nobles, armed with bow and arrow. It was David's intention to give the Angles the honour of the first attack upon the long English line. "All the armed men, knights and archers, whom they had were to go before the rest of the army, so that armed men should attack armed men, and knights engage with knights, and arrows resist arrows." Piets and Scots were to follow up with sword and targe. This plan of battle was bitterly opposed by "the Picts,

who are commonly called Galwegians," and the opposition of the Galwegians, the Picts south of the Forth, was strengthened by the adhesion of a great Perthshire Baron of Celtic blood, Malise, Earl of Strathearn. They assured David that he need not fear the knights and their iron tunics: "We surely have iron sides, a breast of bronze, a mind void of fear, our feet have never known flight, nor our backs a wound." They had beaten mail-clad Frenchmen at Clitheroe: they would beat them again to-day.

David yielded, and rearranged his forces. The Galloway Picts were placed in the van; the men of Lothian, with islanders and Highlanders from Lorn, on the left; mailed knights, and men from Cumbria and Teviotdale, on the right. The reserve was commanded by the King in person; it was composed of the men of Moray and the "Scots" from the eastern districts north of the Forth. David had also a bodyguard of English and Norman knights. There was clearly a political as well as a military purpose in an arrangement by which the English of Lothian were to fight side by side with the wild clansmen of the west. So this strange battle was fought for three hours of an August day. The King of Scots, with an army of Celts, English, and Normans, was championing the cause of an English Queen against an Anglo-Norman army led by two Norman Barons, one of whom, three or four years before, had been his ally in suppressing the Celtic rising in Moray. The warriors of Galloway rushed on the foe with "a yell of horrible sound." Albani, Albani! they shouted—"the war-cry of their fathers." The wild onslaught had at first some effect upon the English spearmen, but soon "the frailty of the Scottish lances was mocked by the denseness of iron and wood," as "the whole nation of the Normans and the English stood massed together in one array around the standard," above them a silver pyx, to invoke

the Divine assistance against the desecrators of churches. The Galwegians showed dauntless courage. "Like a hedgehog with its quills, so would you see a Galwegian bristling all round with arrows, and none the less brandishing his sword, and in blind madness rushing forward, now smiting a foe, now beating the air with vain blows." The courage of naked men could not long avail against mailed columns. On the left, the leader of the men of Lothian was struck down. "He fell, and his whole nation turned in flight, for God was offended, and all their valour was broken like spiders' webs." The Scottish right was led by Prince Henry. While the men of Galloway and of Lothian were wavering, the Prince dashed through the English left; but his infantry failed to follow, and, with his band of mounted knights of the royal household, he went on, unsupported, pursuing the retreating foe. David then brought up the reserve, and "the Scots and Picts held out with difficulty from the first hour when the struggle commenced unto the third; they saw themselves pierced and transfixed with the arrows, and, overwhelmed and distressed, they all slipped away from the field, casting their baggage from them, and in scorn of them the place is called Bagmoor." Prince Henry and his followers found themselves separated from the retreating army by the victorious English host, and, casting away their banners, they mixed with the foe, and, unrecognized, succeeded in passing through the pursuers. Three days later they safely rejoined King David at Carlisle.

The Battle of the Standard was fiercely fought, and the beaten army suffered cruelly both in the action and in the flight. But its importance in Anglo-Scottish relations is small, and its significance in military history consists merely in its being the first of many lessons, never learned by the Scots, that rushes of unmailed

clansmen could never vanquish spearmen and archers. "It is," says Professor Oman, "the forerunner of Dupplin, Halidon Hill, Flodden, and Pinkie." The retreat was not a mere rout, and even though, according to Richard of Hexham, "the English and the Scots and the Picts and the rest of the barbarians" of David's army fell out by the way, the King was strong enough to besiege the castle of Wark. The intervention of a Papal Legate brought about peace, and in April, 1139, a treaty was concluded between David and Queen Maud, the wife of Stephen. It secured to Prince Henry the earldom of Northumberland as an English fief, and the Scottish border-line was advanced to the Tees, although Newcastle and Bamborough were retained by Stephen. The fruits of victory had fallen to the vanquished, but this great concession proved insufficient to keep David loyal to Stephen. When the Empress Matilda captured her rival in 1141, David at once set out for his niece's Court, where he received scant courtesy. He was present at the defeat of the Empress near Winchester, and had to "betake himself hastily back to his own kingdom." In 1149, when Henry Fitz-Empress came to England, he was knighted by David at Carlisle, and he promised that, if he regained his mother's crown, he would give to the King of Scots Newcastle and the whole territory between Tweed and Tyne. David and Henry led an army to Lancaster, but their ally, the Earl of Chester, deserted them, and Henry fled to Normandy. This was David's last intervention in English affairs. When Henry made his successful invasion in 1153, the Scottish King was within a few months of his death.

The visit of the Papal Legate after the Battle of the Standard not only brought about an agreement with Stephen: it also put the seal upon the ecclesiastica settlement of St. Margaret and her sons. The Scots, says

Richard of Hexham,* "had long differed from the Cisalpine, and indeed almost from the Universal Church;" now they received the commands of Innocent II., and his Legate "corrected what was to be corrected, and decreed what was to be decreed." He made the Picts promise to bring back to England all captive English women and girls, and they undertook in future wars to respect churches, and "to slay no one at all unless he opposed them." He made no attempt to settle the vexed question of the ecclesiastical relations between Scotland and England, but in 1155, according to a document of uncertain authenticity, Hadrian IV., the English Pope, informed the Scottish Bishops that the Archbishop of York was their Metropolitan, and that, "laying aside every pretext," they must reverence and obey him.

David's closing years were saddened by the death, in 1152, of his son Henry, "pride of youths, glory of knights, joy of old men," the friend and playmate of Ailred, who describes him as beautiful to look upon, gentle and humble, chaste and pious, bold and courageous against the foe, beloved of all. Henry left three sons-Malcolm and William, successively Kings of Scotland, and David, who became Earl of Huntingdon, the progenitor of the claimants to the throne at the time of the War of Independence. In the reign of the Maiden King, Malcolm IV., who succeeded his grandfather in 1153, the Anglo-Celtic dynasty was for the last time placed in grave peril by the struggles of the Scots against the influences which, after almost a century, were ceasing to be new, and the record of Malcolm's twelve years of rule may fitly close the period of Anglicization. When he came to the throne he was only a boy of twelve, and the men of Moray seized the opportunity of rebelling. Their leader was Donald MacHeth, son of the Malcolm who had

^{*} Fl. 1138-1154, Prior of Hexham.

been captured in 1135, and he had a powerful ally in his father-in-law Somerled, under-King of Argyll and Lord of the Isles. The struggle, of which we know practically nothing, lasted for three years, and affected Galloway as well as the North. In 1156 Donald MacHeth was captured as far away from Moray as Whithorn, and was sent to join his father, Malcolm MacHeth, who was a prisoner in Roxburgh Castle. They were soon released, and they made no further resistance, and, meanwhile, Malcolm followed his grandfather's example in making grants of land in Moray. Four years later Malcolm had again to meet a Celtic revolt. In the interval he had accompanied Henry II. of England to the War of Toulouse, and had thereby roused the anti-English feeling of his subjects. "The Scottish chiefs," says the Book of Pluscarden,* "perceiving that their King was over-friendly with the King of England, were sore troubled . . . saying we will not have this man to reign over us." The Chronicle of Melrose, here a contemporary authority, tells how, on Malcolm's return, "having reached the town called Perth, he was besieged therein by Earl Ferteth [of Strathearn] and five other Earls, who were incensed against him because he had gone to Toulouse, and who wished, therefore, to take him prisoner, but this presumptuous design was unsuccessful." The men of Galloway, never yet subdued by a King of Scots, next raised a revolt under their lord, Fergus, who may have led them at the Battle of the Standard. "Three times," says the Melrose chronicler, "did King Malcolm lead a large army into Galloway, and at length he conquered them." The Chronicle of Holyrood adds the interesting fact that "Fergus, Prince of Galloway, assumed the dress of a Canon in the Church of the Holy Rood of Edinburgh," and endowed it with lands near Kirkeudbright. Thus David's Anglo-Norman abbey

^{*} Written circa 1461-1496, largely based on the Scotichronicon.

came to possess an influence over the Celts of Galloway. King Malcolm's troubles were not yet over, for "Somerled, the under-King of Argyll, who had been in a state of wicked rebellion for twelve years against his natural lord, Malcolm, King of Scotland, landed at Renfrew with a large army . . . but at length God's vengeance overtook him, and he and his son, and a countless number of his followers, were there slain by a few of the people of that district." Somerled's mysterious death in 1164 left the land at peace for the remaining months of Malcolm's life.

The troubled reign of a boy in Scotland coincided with the strong rule of Henry II. in England. The agreement with David in 1149 could scarcely be regarded by Henry as binding him in different circumstances, and he was not inclined to leave the Northern Counties under the dominion of Scotland. At Chester, in 1157, Malcolm met Henry, and became his man "in such fashion as his grandfather had been the man of the elder King Henry. saving all his dignities." With regard to the ancient Scottish claims on Cumberland and Westmorland, and the more recent demands for Northumberland, Henry appealed, says William of Newburgh, "to the authority of might," and Malcolm did not dispute the conclusion. He gave up the land which David had gained, and received the earldom of Huntingdon. The arrangement ought to have satisfied Henry, but next year the two Kings met at Carlisle, and parted in enmity, and Henry declined to confer on Malcolm the honour of knighthood. The ceremony ultimately took place at Tours, on the return from the expedition to Toulouse, and in 1163 Malcolm paid a visit to Henry at Woodstock, and did to his son Henry such homage as he had done to the father.

Malcolm was in bad health during most of his reign.

On his English visit in 1163 he was dangerously ill at Doncaster, and in December, 1165, he died at Jedburgh, in his twenty-fifth year, comets and a great tempest fore-telling his end. "He lost not his kingship," says William of Newburgh, "but changed it. A man of angelic sincerity among men, and as it were an angel on earth, the heavenly angels snatched him from a world which was not worthy of him." He was the last King of Scots to bear a Celtic name.



THE TOMB OF "THE GOOD" SIR JAMES OF DOUGLAS IN ST. BRIDE'S CHURCH AT DOUGLAS. Page 96.

Born 1286[?], commanded the left wing of the Scots at Bannockburn, and slain in battle, in Spain, in 1330.



CHAPTER III

CONSOLIDATION

MALCOLM'S brother and successor, William the Lion. reigned for nearly fifty years (1165-1214). Like his grandfather, David I., he set his heart upon the earldom of Northumberland, and his ambition spelled disaster for Scotland. He was more worldly than Malcolm, says William of Newburgh, for he wished to enjoy life, yet even in temporal felicity he was less fortunate than his brother, who had aimed at simplicity and piety. Probably in the hope of obtaining the restoration of the Northern Counties, William, to the great disgust of the Scots, accompanied Henry II. to France in 1166. He "won glorious honours of chivalry," but Henry declined to hear of any more material concession than the earldom of Huntingdon, for which William duly did homage. "Wherefore King William of Scotland went away unsatisfied," and entered into negotiations with Henry's rival, Louis VII., a step of little immediate importance, but memorable as the original precedent for the Franco-Scottish leagues of the future. In 1173 the young Henry of England raised a rebellion, in which William saw his opportunity. The Scottish King was of little use to his allies in the great conspiracy against Henry II. He took some strongholds and besieged Carlisle, leaving a portion of his army to invest it, while he wasted Northumberland. English and Scottish chroniclers give inconsistent details of his

proceedings, but there is nothing to his credit except his courage at the moment when, "by the ordering of God's loving-kindness, he was saved from the shedding of man's blood." On a misty morning in July, 1174, an English force was pressing on to Alnwick Castle, which was besieged by the Scots. As they approached the castle, the mist cleared away, and they saw a troop of Scottish horsemen tilting in an open field. Among them was King William. At first he thought the strangers were some of his own men returning with their spoil; as they came nearer he realized his error, and, calling on his men to follow him, he rushed upon the enemy. His horse was killed, and he was thrown to the ground, a captive. There was no attempt at a rescue, and by nightfall William found himself a prisoner at Richmond. It was the day on which Henry II, concluded his penance at the grave of Becket, and, when the news reached London. "the King rejoiced much with great joy, and gave thanks to God and Thomas the Martyr." Henry had good reason for joy, but the effect of William's capture upon the course of the rebellion is no part of our story. We must follow the King of Scotland to Northampton, where he was brought to Henry "with his feet shackled beneath the belly of his horse"; he was taken by Portsmouth and Barfleur to Caen, and finally to Falaise. At Falaise, in December, he became the vassal of Henry for all his possessions, "and expressly for Scotland and Galloway." As security for the fulfilment of the Treaty, Henry received the castles of Roxburgh, Berwick, Jedburgh, Stirling, and the Maiden Castle of Edinburgh. With the liberties of the Crown were surrendered those of the Church, and Scottish Bishops and Abbots acknowledged the authority of an English archbishopric, though they judiciously left open the question between Canterbury and York.

In 1175 the Lion returned ignominiously to Scotland. The Scots had resented the friendly visits of Malcolm and William to Henry's armies, and the new vassal of England was not likely to have his troubles to seek. Immediately after William's capture a revolt had broken out in Galloway under the sons of Fergus, the monk of Holyrood. The rebellion was supported by Henry II., and William did not really regain control over the Galwegians for ten years after his return. In 1179 or 1180 he had to make an expedition into Ross to put down a Northern pretender, Donald MacWilliam or Donald Bane, who professed to be a great-grandson of Malcolm Canmore; it was only temporarily successful, for Donald gave trouble in the following year, and in 1187 William was compelled to march against him with a large army. Galloway, under its new ruler, Roland, became a faithful ally of the King of Scots, and it fell to Roland to defeat Donald Bane, and to bring his head to William at Inverness. Twice again before the close of his life William had to fight in the North. Harold, Earl of Caithness, who, like Donald Bane, was related to the King, rebelled in 1196, and it required three campaigns to restore the royal authority in Caithness. Finally, in 1211, a son of Donald Bane, called Guthred, invaded Ross, and gave William considerable trouble. The English chroniclers intimate that he was overcome with English help, a topic upon which our Scottish authorities are silent. It is not impossible, for William's relations with England were many and varied between the Treaty of Falaise and Guthred's invasion in the last years of his reign.

The Treaty of Falaise is the one certain fact in the much-controverted question of the English supremacy. From 1174 until the death of Henry II., fifteen years later, Scotland was without dispute a vassal kingdom. During these years Henry II. made demands upon the

King of Scotland which have no parallel, before or after, except in the reign of John Balliol. The acknowledgment of a homage "expressly for Scotland" had, in actual fact, changed the position of the Scottish King, and this is the best commentary upon the vague English claims of the past. When Richard I. succeeded to the English throne, his great desire was to obtain money for his Crusade, and he sold back to the Lion, for 10,000 marks, the rights which had been surrendered at Falaise. Some of the English chroniclers, including William of Newburgh, speak as if the bargain between the two Kings had been confined to the restoration of Scottish castles in English hands, and omit to mention "the quit-claiming of fealty and allegiance for the kingdom of Scotland." Richard did restore his castles to William, but he also "freed him from all conventions and compacts which my father King Henry of good memory extorted from him by new charters and by his capture, so that he do to me fully and entirely what Malcolm, King of Scots, his brother, did to our predecessors of right, and of right ought to have done." The new agreement made no attempt at definition. William was Richard's liegeman for all the lands for which Malcolm had been Henry's liegeman. It was a solution which was satisfactory to William at the time, for he still cherished the hope of doing homage for Northumbria. He was loval to Richard during John's rebellion. and in 1194, on the King's return from his captivity, he asked for Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmorland. The request was refused, only to be repeated after Richard's second coronation. William was present at the ceremony, and he took the opportunity of offering 15,000 marks for Northumbria. Richard was willing to "give him the whole of Northumbria except the castles, but the King of Scotland refused to take it without the





KING JAMES I. (1406-1487). Page 112.

From the painting in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery.

castles." Once again, in 1195, William pressed his claim, as a condition of the marriage of his heiress to Richard's nephew, Otto of Saxony, son of Henry the Lion, and afterwards the Emperor Otto IV. The Scottish Barons objected to the acknowledgment of an heiress to the Crown, in prejudice of the heirs male, and the birth of William's son Alexander in 1198 put any such project out of the question. When John succeeded Richard. the importunate Lion demanded his "patrimony," and threatened to take it by force. He was prevented from carrying out his threat by a Divine warning conveved to him as he lay sleeping by the tomb of St. Margaret at Dunfermline. The Book of Pluscarden gives the less romantic explanation that all William's "high-minded intentions" came to nothing because the Bishops and other peace-loving lords brought about a reconciliation. and because John had more important business in France. After John's coronation, William agreed to give the English King six months' time to decide upon his answer; its terms are unknown to us, but John seems to have been clever enough to keep the peace by a series of diplomatic negotiations, which included a meeting between the two Kings at York in 1206. The contemporary chroniclers say nothing of this meeting, which is known to us from the Patent Rolls; Fordun mentions it, but says only that William returned after transacting his business successfully. There was another meeting in the following year, and again the chroniclers are silent. William had certainly missed his opportunity when John was engaged in losing Normandy, but another seemed to him to occur when the English King was at the height of his quarrel with the Pope. In 1208 he irritated John by receiving fugitive English Bishops, and was threatened with an invasion. The chroniclers here take up the tale again, but their stories are difficult to follow. William was now

old and feeble, and he had lost heart and courage; the English Barons were unwilling to fight for their excommunicated monarch against "the holy man, that King of Scotland for whom God has done several miracles." In the end, peace was preserved, and William gave John two of his daughters to be married in England, and engaged to pay 15,000 marks to the English King. The treaty was unpopular in Scotland, says the Melrose chronicler, and it has certainly an ugly look. The presence of the Scottish Princesses in England suggests feudal vassalage, even though there was a proposal to marry one of them to the future Henry III. John sent them to Corfe Castle, where they had as their companion his niece Eleanor, sister of the murdered Arthur of Brittany; he treated them kindly, and sent them finery and sweetmeats. One of them married the great Hubert de Burgh, and the other became Countess of Norfolk. In 1212, at the time of Guthred's rebellion, John and William had their last meeting at Durham and Norham. William was near his end, and he wanted to secure the support of the English King for the throne of his young son. John knighted Alexander, then a boy of fourteen, and William agreed that John should choose a wife for him, thus going nearer to the acknowledgment of feudal overlordship than at any time since the agreement with Richard I. The Scottish claims in England had all along been the will-o'-the-wisp which led William the Lion into strange places, and they were still the first thought of his dotage. To secure Alexander's position, he resigned his English lands, and the boy was invested with them. Later Scottish chroniclers explain this incident as an arrangement by which the heir to the Scottish throne, and not the reigning monarch, should do homage for the English lands, but the Lion's senile diplomacy is, for the Scottish historian, the most awkward portion of the whole

overlordship controversy. Yet, at the worst, William had done no more than make treaties capable of an adverse interpretation, and his dubious concessions cannot be compared with the definite agreements by which Richard I. and John of England successively became the vassals of the Emperor and of the Pope.

If William, dominated in his later years by the fierce John, had tended to weaken the ancient claim that the Crown of Scotland was an independent sovereignty, his ecclesiastical policy had resulted in the freedom of the Scottish Church. His relations with the Papacy were marked by a quarrel similar to the great dispute between John and Innocent III., but with widely different results. In 1179 the Canons Regular of St. Andrews elected a Bishop named John in defiance of King William, who appointed his own chaplain and had him consecrated, in spite of an appeal which was pending at Rome. The Papal Legate decided against the King, deposed his Bishop, and consecrated the rival claimant, whereupon William seized the revenues of the bishopric. The Pope appointed the Archbishop of York as Legate for Scotland, and instructed him to enforce his decision, and in 1181 the King was excommunicated and the country placed under an interdict. Almost immediately came the news of the death of the Pope, followed by that of the Archbishop of York, and "William, King of Scotland, rejoiced with great joy, and sent to Rome . . . that he should be absolved from excommunication and his land from interdict, and that if by any means it could be done, John, Bishop of St. Andrews, should be deposed." The new Pope, Lucius III., at once removed the excommunication and the interdict, and sent William the Golden Rose, and in the end the royal nominee was restored to St. Andrews, and John was consoled with Dunkeld. When the controversy reached its termination in 1188, Pope

Clement III. took the Church in Scotland under the direct protection of the Apostolic See, "whose spiritual daughter she is, with mediation of none." Thus the Church obtained its independence a year before the shameful Treaty of Falaise was cancelled by Richard I.

William the Lion died in December, 1214. The reigns of his son and grandson, the second and third Alexanders, will bring our narrative up to the War of Independence. Alexander II. reigned for thirty-five years, and Alexander III. for thirty-seven, and during neither reign was there any serious conflict with England, a circumstance almost unprecedented in the past and unparalleled in the future until we reach the time of James VI. Alexander II., hoping to regain Northumberland, sided with the English Barons who extorted Magna Charta from King John, and, in the course of the remarkable recovery of power made by that astute monarch between his humiliation at Runnymede and his death, John took the Castle of Berwick, burnt the town, and flung a taunt at the red-haired Alexander. "We shall hunt the red fox-cub from his lairs," said John; but Alexander avoided Berwick, and "hid himself in the remoter districts, being still a youth." When John was at a safe distance, Alexander invaded Northumberland in the interests of the Dauphin Louis, to whom the insurgent Barons had offered the English crown. After John's death and the defeat of Louis at Lincoln, Alexander made terms with the young Henry III., "and did homage," says the Melrose chronicler, "for the earldom of Huntingdon, and the other lands which his predecessors had held of the Kings of England." In 1220 he married the Princess Joanna, the eldest sister of Henry III., and about the same date the Justiciar of England, Hubert de Burgh, married Alexander's eldest sister, Margaret. These marriages had a considerable influence upon the relations

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between the two countries in the first half of Alexander's The jealousy of De Burgh's enemies was roused by his great alliance; they accused him of aiming at the throne of Scotland, and the Archbishop of Canterbury gave him much trouble by disputing the validity of the marriage. A proposal that Henry III. should carry out John's treaty with William the Lion by marrying another Scottish Princess was resented by the English Barons, "for it was not fitting that the King should marry the younger, when the Justiciar was the husband of the elder." Alexander had thus an additional grievance against the brother-in-law who was still withholding his English "patrimony," but they remained on friendly terms till the fall of De Burgh in 1232. Henry was the ally of the Pope, whose support he purchased with the money of his subjects, and he made an attempt to enforce the English supremacy, not by war, but through the peaceful operation of the commands of the See of St. Peter.

In 1235 Gregory IX. ordered Alexander to renew the Treaty of Falaise, and when the Scottish King declined to do so, the Pope proposed to send a Legate to Scotland. The ingenuous Alexander asserted that no Legate had ever vet entered Scotland—a statement that can scarcely have deceived the Pope. "Untamed and wild men dwell in my land," he told the Legate; "they thirst for human blood, and if they should attack you, I cannot restrain them." The dispute between the two Kings was settled in conferences held at Newcastle and York in 1236 and 1237. Their agreement made it safe for Alexander to give an ungracious permission to the Legate to enter the kingdom, and he paid a short visit and held an ecclesiastical council at Edinburgh. His defiance of the Pope had enabled the Scottish King to checkmate Henry's diplomacy, and he was wise enough to abandon his claims to rule Northumbria. The Treaty of York (1236) provided that Alexander should receive 300 librates of land for his homage. These lands were situated in Northumbria, but they involved no political power, and it was expressly provided that no castle should be erected upon them. Along with his claims to the Northumbrian earldom Alexander gave up his fiefs in the South of England. All outstanding disputes seemed now to be settled, but new difficulties arose almost at once. Alexander's Queen, Joanna, had been present at the York meeting; she remained in England on a visit to her brother, and died there in 1238. She left no children, and in the following year Alexander married Marie de Coucy, the daughter of a great French house. Their only child, a son, afterwards Alexander III., born in 1241, was betrothed to Henry's daughter, Margaret, before he was a year old, but the French alliance created a permanent distrust. "I suspect the King of France," said Henry on one occasion; "I suspect more the King of Scotland." Twice between Alexander's second marriage and his death the two countries were nearly at waronce, in 1242, over a baronial quarrel, and again in 1244, when Henry asserted that the Scots were receiving his enemies and his exiles, and were building castles against him. The English King was so unpopular in his own country that his Barons insisted on his making peace. The English chronicler, Matthew Paris,* tells how "the King of Scotland, a good man, just, pious, and generous, was beloved by all, as well by the English as by his own subjects," how "he had a very numerous army and strong," and "how peace was restored so that the blood of Christian men might not cry out to the Lord for vengeance." The agreement now made at Newcastle was in substance a confirmation of the Treaty of York of 1236.

^{*} Monk of St. Albans, died 1259.

Alexander had not been without domestic troubles; he had suppressed a serious insurrection in Argyll in 1222, and avenged a ghastly deed of blood in Caithness in 1223; and the usual revolts of the men of Moray had necessitated expeditions to that troubled land. A disturbance in Galloway in 1234 possesses unusual significance. Its lord, Alan, a great-grandson of the redoubtable Fergus, who had ended his days in the cloistered life of Holyrood, died in that year, leaving three daughters. The heiresses of this Celtic family had all been married to Anglo-Norman Barons, the Earl of Winchester, John Balliol, and William of Aumale. The people of Galloway preferred the rule of the King of Scotland to that of these strangers, and asked Alexander to seize the inheritance. "The King was too just to do this," says the Melrose chronicler, and "the Galwegians were angry above measure." They rose in rebellion, and it required two campaigns to subdue them. Finally, in 1249, Alexander met his death on an expedition to the Hebrides, which he wished to bring more directly under the royal power. The relations of the islands to the Crowns of Scotland and Norway were very uncertain; Alexander had recently asserted the Scottish claim, and he took the first opportunity of attempting to enforce it. The expedition had just started when the King fell ill near Oban, and

> "Kerrera's Isle beheld his soul's release, Blest fellowship with saints on high to claim."

He was, says the later Scottish chronicler who quotes this epitaph, "a most gentle Prince towards his people, a father to the monks, the comforter of the needy, the helper of the fatherless, the pitiful hearer and the righteous judge of the widow, and to the Church of Christ a second Peter."

The reign of Alexander III. (1249-1286) was regarded

by later generations, not without reason, as the Golden Age of Scottish history, but its opening years saw a rehearsal of the obscure intrigues round the person of a child-King which will become unpleasantly familiar as our story progresses. He was a boy of eight, surrounded by many advisers. "But these councillors were so many Kings, for he who saw the poor crushed down in those days, the nobles bereft of their inheritance, the burdens laid upon the people, the violence done to churches, might well say, 'Woe unto the land whose King is a child!" Alexander's birth had disappointed one of the greatest of his Barons, his cousin, Robert Bruce, lord of Annandale, a grandson of David, the younger brother of William the Lion. Alexander II., despairing of a son, had promised the succession to Bruce, who was naturally aggrieved by the birth of an heir to the throne. Bruce, like many others of the Scottish nobility, held lands in England as well as in Scotland, and it was not to be expected that these Anglo-Norman families should feel much enthusiasm about the independence of the Scottish Crown. The minority of the young King was therefore a critical period in the relations between Scotland and England, and Scotland was fortunate in the circumstance that Henry III. occupied the English throne.

Alexander was crowned in 1249 as the representative of the ancient Celtic line, for "no King was ever wont to reign in Scotland unless he had, on receiving the name of King, sat upon the stone at Scone"—the Stone of Destiny, now in the Coronation Chair at Westminster. When the religious ceremony was over, a Highland Scot proclaimed the boy-King's descent from "Fergus, first King of the Scots in Albania," and it is significant that henceforth we hear no more of the Morayshire pretenders who had contested the claims of his predecessors. Alexander had been betrothed in his infancy to the Princess

Margaret of England, and in 1251, at the age of nine, he was taken to York to be married, and to receive the honour of knighthood from his father-in-law. It is a well-informed English chronicler, Matthew Paris, who tells how, after Alexander had done homage for his English lands, Henry demanded fealty for the Kingdom of Scotland, how the child "replied that he had come thither in peace, to be allied to the King of England, and not to answer difficult questions," and how Henry "passed it over for the time in silence." Alexander had doubtless been taught what he should say, and before the visit was over he made an appeal to the generosity of his father-inlaw. "I am a King," he said, "and by your goodness a knight, but I am a child without aid or knowledge. My father is dead, and my mother is gone back to her own country: be to me both father and mother, and guide my weakness with counsel and protection." Later Scottish chroniclers give Henry III. the credit of an honest response to this appeal. "Never did any of the English Kings in times past keep pledges to the Scots more honourably and steadfastly than this Henry, for he was looked upon by the Kings of Scotland, father and son, as their most faithful neighbour and adviser." The picture is perhaps a little overdrawn, to point the contrast with Edward I., but Henry proved a good friend to his sonin-law, even if he attempted to increase English authority in Scotland. The minority of Alexander III. witnessed the definite creation of an English party in Scotland. It was not an Anglo-Norman party, for, though its leaders were Anglo-Norman nobles, the leaders of the opposite party were also Anglo-Norman nobles, and there were Celts in both. The new English party desired to see Scotland in close alliance with England, and were willing to accept the authority of its Sovereign. While English sympathies are the distinctive characteristic of this party,

it did not originate in an attempt to assert the English claims. We are to look for its origin simply in the feuds of the Scottish nobility. One group of nobles, which included Robert de Bruce, the head of the Bruce family, was opposed to another group, which included Walter Comyn, Earl of Menteith. Both the Bruces and the Comyns were in the line of succession to the throne, and they had thus one good cause of quarrel. Henry III. supported Bruce's party, the leader of which was Alan Durward, the Justiciar of Scotland, and Durward and his friends, for this sufficient reason, supported Henry III. The alliance continued for many years. The original disputes between the two factions were forgotten, and one of them became an English party, anti-national in sympathy. The narrative of their early feuds is intricate and of small importance. The Menteith party offended the young King and Queen, and Durward and his friends succeeded in seizing the persons of Alexander and Margaret. Henry came to their assistance, and made an arrangement at Kelso by which his allies were to be the Regents of Scotland. He had never asserted the feudal claim of guardianship during Alexander's minority, and he now described himself as "Principal Counsellor" to the King of Scotland. The triumph of the English party was short-lived, for Menteith and his friends, with the help of the Church (always national in its sympathies), soon came into power again, and any chance of an understanding between them and Henry was prevented by their making an alliance with the Welsh, who were at war with England. Henry, despite his own difficulties at the time, made some efforts to recover his authority, but he gained little except a visit from his daughter and her husband, who longed to see again "the churches, cities, and castles, the rivers and meadows, the woods and fields of England, which are appraised most highly among the delights of all kingdoms." At Windsor, early in 1262, Queen Margaret gave birth to her eldest child, a daughter, afterwards the mother of the Maid of Norway.

On his return from England, Alexander undertook the task which his dving father had left unfinished, and the annexation of the Hebrides is the most memorable event of his reign. An attempt to negotiate for their cession, made by Alexander in 1262, was interpreted by Haco of Norway as indicating an intention to recover them by force, and in 1263 his great fleet appeared off the island of Arran. The Scots could not meet him at sea, and Haco's intention was to invade Scotland if the menace of his great array should fail to bring Alexander to terms. It did fail to accomplish this end, but the invasion was in other wise than Haco had planned. "At God's command, on the very day that both the Kings had appointed for battle, there arose at sea a very fierce storm, and a great part of the fleet dragged their anchors and were roughly cast on shore, whether they would or not. Then the King's army came against them, and cut down many, both nobles and serfs." This battle, fought at Largs in September, 1263, made the Western Islands subject, at all events in name, to the Scottish Crown, for Haco retired discomfited to the Orkneys, where he died in the following winter. Meanwhile Alexander extorted an unwilling submission from Haco's ally, the ruler of the Isle of Man, and sent a successful expedition into the Hebrides. In 1266, Eric of Norway ceded the islands (including Man) to Scotland for a money payment, and only the Orkneys remained Norwegian territory.

Like his predecessors, Alexander III. had disputes with the Popes, whose extortions he succeeded in checking, and towards the close of his reign the old controversy about the English overlordship was revived. In 1278, Alexander took an oath of homage to his brother-in-law,

Edward I., at Westminster. The chroniclers are strangely silent about this oath, and such authorities as we possess contradict each other. A statement on the English side. which contains a suspicious error of date, asserts that Alexander gave an unqualified homage, and a contemporary Scottish account tells that, when the King of Scots made his homage, "saving the right of his own crown," the Bishop of Norwich asserted the King of England's right to homage for the kingdom of Scotland, and was met by Alexander with the retort that to God alone was such homage due. Alexander's Queen had died three years before this meeting of the two Kings at Westminster, and the closing years of his life were clouded by a succession of calamities. His younger son, David, a boy of eight, died in 1281. His elder son, Alexander, whose birth on the propitious day which brought the news of the death of King Haco had been hailed as a happy omen, died in 1283, leaving no child. About the same time the King lost his only daughter, Margaret, who had married Eric of Norway, and become the mother of a baby girl, now the heiress of the Scottish crown. In October, 1285, Alexander, still in middle life, married Yolande of Dreux, and the festivities of the marriage ceremony at Jedburgh included the Pageant of the Dance of Death, an ill-chosen masque, whose unfamiliarity increased its acceptance as a presage of coming evil. The fulfilment was not long delayed. One wild March day in 1286, when a fierce north wind was laden with showers of snow and rain, Alexander was holding a council at Edinburgh. He dined merrily on lampreys, a dish associated with the deaths of Kings. There was a general belief that the end of the world was near. this be the Judgment Day," said Alexander's host, "we shall rise with full bellies." When the feast had ended, the King expressed his determination to go to the Queen

at Kinghorn, in Fife, and all efforts to dissuade him were in vain. When he came to Queensferry, the ferryman warned him of his danger, and Alexander asked if he feared to die with him. "It would be high honour to share the fate of your father's son," replied the man, and he carried the King safely across the Firth. At Inverkeithing the burgesses begged him to stay, but he rode on, "soon losing in the darkness all knowledge of the way; only the horses picked out instinctively the hard road." Separated from his three attendants, the King rode on until his horse stumbled. He was thrown and killed, and his country entered upon the great crisis of her history.

Later chroniclers record that Alexander III. was "righteous, godly, wise and kind, mild and merciful," and they consoled themselves for his sudden death with the reflection that he who lives well cannot die ill. He had certainly done good service to the realm. Trade and commerce made rapid progress, though, if we can trust a late authority, Alexander's views on political economy left something to be desired. "The King decreed that merchandise should not cross over the sea to any place beyond the kingdom, for so many ships were lost, and others were taken by enemies and pirates, that the kingdom was thereby much impoverished, and he ordered that no ship should pass out of the realm on pain of loss of goods." The foreigner was willing to take the risk, and "many ships laden with all manner of merchandise would come to the country in these days and barter all their merchandise, goods for goods." The chroniclers speak of Scottish skill in handicrafts, and their stories of the gold and silver which foreign merchants brought are confirmed by the fact that coins of Alexander III, are very common at the present day, and fetch only a trifle in the market. Prosperity followed the peace which Alexander and his predecessors had

given. "Justice reigned" in the time of Alexander, says the historian of Pluscarden, and though only fragments of thirteenth-century Scottish law have come down to us, it is clear enough that the Lowlands could boast of just and competent administration. The system, as we have already seen, was based upon the legislation of the Norman and Plantagenet Kings of England. The Scottish Kings had, from the reign of David I., a Great Council, consisting of tenants-in-chief of the Crown. They appointed Justiciars; they made progresses through the country "to administer justice, to punish rebels, to reward the good, and, with the officers of each district, to remedy all defects." These local officers now included Vice-Comites, or Sheriffs, whose names and whose duties were alike borrowed from England. The materials of Scottish thirteenth-century law preserved in the Regiam Maiestatem are but a transcript of the work of Glanvill. the great lawyer of Henry II.'s reign, and in 1197 William the Lion made his subjects swear the oath for the conservation of the peace on which Henry II. had founded his great Assize of Clarendon. From the time of Malcolm Canmore to the outbreak of the War of Independence, Scottish lawgivers knew but one exemplar and one inspiration.

The continuous progress of Anglicization is thus the essential fact of Scottish history for more than two hundred years. For by far the greater portion of that period the dynasty of Malcolm Canmore and Queen Margaret had to meet on the battle-field the opponents of Anglo-Norman influence. They had at last been successful in suppressing armed resistance, but their victory had produced a new line of cleavage in the already divided kingdom of Scotland. Walter of Coventry, an Englishman of the reign of Edward I., remarks upon the difference between the Kings of Scotland and their people. "The

Kings of Scotland in recent times," he says, "pride themselves on being French [Norman] in race and in manner of life, in speech and in culture. They have reduced the Scots to utter slavery, and they admit none but Frenchmen to their friendship and their service." The refusal of Alexander II. to bring Galloway directly under the Crown by depriving three Anglo-Norman Barons of the inheritance of their wives is an illustration of the strength of the alliance between the Scottish Kings and their foreign nobles. The fact that the men of Galloway asked for the protection of the Crown, and avenged the refusal of their petition by a series of rebellions, indicates the measure of their dislike to their foreign masters. Anglicization had made little progress in Galloway, which still retained its native Gaelic speech. English was certainly the speech of Lothian, and Gaelic of the Western Highlands. That Gaelic was the speech of the shires of Stirling and Dumbarton for nearly three hundred years after the death of Alexander III. we know from the evidence of Sir Thomas Craig, yet English civilization had so far progressed by the end of the thirteenth century that the seal of the burgh of Stirling represents the bridge over the Forth as compassed on the one side by spearmen, with the legend, Hic armis bruti Scoti stant; and on the other side by archers, over whom are the words, Hic cruce tuti. The crucifix in the centre would have been honoured by both, and the appeal to Holy Cross is but a rhetorical device. The real distinction is to be found in the arms. The men who are safe in the protection of the Cross defend themselves with bow and arrow, the weapon of England; the uncivilized Scots with spears, the national weapon of Scotland. Stirling is very near the Lothians. Are we to infer that in the reign of Alexander III. the Scots who lived north of the Forth were still bruti, uncivilized? Our narrative has shown that such an

inference cannot be accepted without serious modification, and we have already spoken of the difficulty of estimating the effect of grants of land and other Anglo-Norman influences upon the racial complexion of the country. How much of Scotland, outside the Lothians, was English-speaking at the death of Alexander III.? Gaelic was the tongue of Galloway and Carrick, of Stirlingshire, Dumbartonshire, and Perthshire, and we know that in the beginning of the eighteenth century it was still the language of Perthshire parishes like Callander, Aberfoyle, and Port of Menteith, and of the Stirlingshire and Dumbartonshire parishes near Loch Lomond. Witnesses from Braemar required interpreters in Court at Edinburgh in the middle of the eighteenth century, and Gaelic is still spoken in portions of Aberdeenshire. In the parts of that county where it has entirely died out we have some evidence, in the forms of place-names, that their Gaelic meanings were understood until late in the Middle Ages. It is not until after the fifteenth century that Camquhyle ("the sloping wood"), becomes Camphill, and it is not until after the seventeenth that Badigaan (Bad a' ghobainn, "the clump or hamlet of the smith") becomes Bandygown. A careful and systematic inquiry into the date of the extinction of the Gaelic tongue in the East of Scotland has yet to be undertaken, and it is because of the lack of such knowledge that we are startled to find such a stray item of information as is given by John Taylor, the "Water-poet," who travelled as far North as Braemar in the year 1618. "I did go," he says, "through a country called Glaneske. . . . At night I came to a lodging in the Lard of Eggels [Edzell's] land, where I lay at an Irish house, the folkes not being able to speake scarce any English." * Gaelic was probably a

^{*} Taylor's "Penniless Pilgrimage," in the folio edition of his works, 1630, p. 184.



KING JAMES II. (1487-1460), Page 117.

From the painting in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery.



survival in Glenesk in the seventeenth century, for the English tongue had long been encouraged, not only by the Church and by commerce, but also by the Anglo-Norman nobility of the north-east. How strong was the influence of non-Celtic Barons in discouraging the use of the Gaelic tongue may be understood from an autobiographical fragment written by a Deeside minister who died in 1904. "The Gordons," he says, "were not. of Celtic origin, though they had many Highland possessions, vet such was their influence with their Gaelicspeaking tenants that in the whole district on the right bank of the Dee, from Balmoral to Glenmuick, of which they were resident proprietors, the old language had completely disappeared long before the beginning of the Inineteenth] century: while on the opposite bank of the river, where the proprietors were either Celtic or non-resident, the Gaelic continued to be the household language of almost every family down to 1830 at least."* It is impossible to speak dogmatically, but the more the available evidence is investigated, the greater, we think, is the probability that Gaelic continued to be spoken in the East Country to the north of the Forth much longer than has been generally supposed. We have seen that the chroniclers of the Battle of the Standard speak of the inhabitants of this district as the Scots, distinguished alike from the men of Lothian, the Galwegians, and the Highlanders and Islanders of the west. In the history of the century and a half which elapsed between the Battle of

^{* &}quot;Deeside Tales," by John Grant Michie, edited by Francis C. Diack, p. 10. Mr. Diack's notes are a valuable contribution to the discussion of this subject. A tradition of Gaelic-speaking in Fife survived to the eighteenth century (Old Statistical Account, parish of Dron). A statement in "Burt's Letters" that Gaelic was still spoken in Fife in the second quarter of the eighteenth century is clearly a mis-understanding on Burt's part, but it may be connected with this tradition.

the Standard and the War of Independence there is little or nothing to make us doubt that this description was still applicable at the end of the thirteenth century, though it is true that there were more Norman landowners in the country, and more English and Flemish merchants in the towns. It is difficult to obtain definite information about the population of the towns, but the earliest list of the merchants of Aberdeen (1406) contains a large proportion of Gaelic names.

The War of Independence, which we are about to narrate, has been described as the "resistance of the English of Scotland to England," but only the three Lothian counties can without hesitation be described as English. The real distinction, as it seems to us, is between the Scottish nobility and the Scottish people. All over Scotland, except in the Western Highlands, the great men of the land were Anglo-Normans, or Celts who had adopted Anglo-Norman civilization. But there had been no racial dispossession of the people, and the narrative of the War of Independence is the story of how the people of Scotland, deserted by the nobility, asserted their independence under the leadership of a simple country gentleman, and how, after his defeat, they rallied again round an Anglo-Norman noble whose deed of blood had severed him from his ancient loyalty and his natural allies.

CHAPTER IV

THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

IF Edward I. was the Lord Paramount of the kingdom of Scotland, it was both his right and his duty, on the death of Alexander III., to become the guardian of the young Queen. He made no such claim, and a Great Council met at Scone in April, 1286, and appointed six Custodians of the realm. Margaret had been acknowledged as the heirpresumptive of her grandfather at a Council held by Alexander himself in 1284, but the succession of an infant girl, the daughter of a foreign Sovereign, afforded an opportunity for the ambition of Robert Bruce, Earl of Annandale, who had been so near the throne before the birth of Alexander III. He was not included in the number of the guardians, but there were among them two members of the Comyn family-Alexander Comyn, Earl of Buchan, and John Comvn, lord of Badenach. In the autumn of 1286, Bruce and his supporters held a meeting at Turnberry, in Ayrshire, and their deliberations and their actions alike menaced the settlement which had been made a few months previously at Scone. The old feuds were thus revived, but Bruce could not now look for support to England, for Edward I. had larger and wiser aims than the encouragement of such an intrigue. After a hundred years of peace, and a long series of marriage alliances, the Scots, remembering the services rendered by Henry III. as "Principal Councillor

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of the King of Scotland," welcomed the news that Eric of Norway wished to secure the help of Edward I. to establish his daughter's throne. An international conference at Salisbury in 1289 was attended by Norwegian, English, and Scottish representatives, and their preliminary discussion was a good omen for the success of the project on which Edward had set his heart. He had decided that the time had come for a peaceful union of the two kingdoms, and he proposed that his son Edward, then a boy of five, should marry the six-year-old Queen of Scots. The alliance was welcomed in Scotland. England was not yet "the auld enemy"; there was no bloodfeud between the peoples, and the Scots were glad to be saved from the peril of a disputed succession and a civil war. Protected by the power of the great Sovereign of England, the girl-Queen and her husband might rule in peace and prosperity, and to them and their descendants the two countries would owe one obedience.

The proposals made at Salisbury received final sanction in the following year. In July, 1290, the "clergy, nobility, and the whole community" of Scotland, held a national council at Birgham, in Berwickshire. The Treaty of Birgham, while it justified his statesmanlike attempt to unite Scotland with England, gave Edward sufficient warning that the Scots were not prepared to accept anything less than the union under one Crown of two free and independent nations. The kingdoms were to remain separate organizations; no Scotsman was to be summoned to do homage outside the bounds of Scotland; no Parliament sitting in England was to transact Scottish business; Scottish cases were to be tried by Scots law on Scottish soil. Should Margaret die, leaving no child, the Scottish Crown was to pass to the nearest heirs "wholly, freely, absolutely, and without any subjection." The general terms usual in these documents, saved such rights

as belonged or ought to belong to the English Crown, but only thus was the question of the overlordship raised at Birgham. Scarcely had the treaty been signed, when Edward indicated how liberally he was prepared to interpret it. His representative, Antony Bek, Bishop of Durham, a member of the Church Militant, who was to visit Scotland in other circumstances, demanded the surrender of the Scottish castles and strongholds. The demand was repudiated, and Edward acquiesced, apparently with some grace. Meanwhile he had sent to Norway a large ship, provisioned with raisins and other sweetmeats dear to the childish heart, to bring to England his son's future bride. Eric declined to trust his daughter to an English vessel, but in September, 1290, she set sail from Bergen. A "sorrowful rumour" soon reached Scotland, and was reported to Edward by one of the few Scottish clergy who were to favour the English cause. The Maid of Norway had died on her voyage to Scotland, and the policy of a marriage alliance was at an end.

The quarrel between the Bruces and the Comyns at once broke out afresh. There had been no alternative for Bruce but to accept the succession of the Maid when it was guaranteed by the English King, and he had taken part in the deliberations at Salisbury and at Birgham. Now he could appeal to Edward against the national party, and, asserting his right to the throne as the chosen heir of Alexander II., he claimed the protection of his overlord. Edward was ready to seize his opportunity, and, in characteristic fashion, he sent first of all for information about the pretensions to the overlordship. Then he summoned the Scottish magnates to Norham. When they assembled, on May 10, 1291, he announced his intention of maintaining his just right to be Lord Paramount of Scotland. On June 3, at a meeting on the Scottish side of the Tweed, opposite Norham, the Anglo-Norman nobility of Scotland, faced by Edward's Anglo-Norman army, admitted the claim. The free-holders, or "community of the realm," made some protest or comment, which Edward regarded as not pertinent to the subject, and which no chronicler has recorded. The Lord Paramount then announced that he would himself decide between the rivals to the throne of the vassal kingdom, and the Scottish strongholds were delivered into his hands.

Edward's decision was delayed till November, 1292. There were in all thirteen competitors for the Crown. One of them was descended from an illegitimate daughter of Alexander II., and the numerous natural children of William the Lion provided five of the others. Five claimed by virtue of legitimate descent from William's brother, David, Earl of Huntingdon, or from one of his sisters. Of the remaining two, one was Eric of Norway. who asserted a right from his dead wife; and the other. John Comyn, the lord of Badenoch, could point to no royal progenitor nearer than Donald Bane, the brother of Malcolm Canmore. The descendants of David of Huntingdon were clearly nearest to the succession. these, John Balliol was the grandson of David's eldest daughter. Robert Bruce was the son of his second daughter, and John Hastynges was the grandson of his third daughter. The choice lay between Balliol and Bruce, and it depended upon a point frequently raised in such discussions. Balliol was descended from David's elder daughter, but he was a degree farther away from David himself. Neither in descent nor in influence could anyone compete with these two, for Bruce's party was powerful, and had long been attached to the English interest, and Balliol was supported by the party of the Comyns, for the Black Comyn (the claimant) had married his sister. Edward, after listening to many pleadings,

gave his decision in conformity with the later theory of strict primogeniture. John Balliol was to be King of Scotland. The English King was wise as well as fair, for though Bruce had always been pro-English, Balliol was, in English opinion, "a simple creature," and simplicity was a useful quality in a vassal King.

King John's accession was not welcomed by his people, but he was duly crowned, did due homage, and agreed to cancel the Treaty of Birgham. For three and a half unhappy years John Balliol was the nominal ruler of The King of England was the vassal of the Emperor and of the Pope for his English Crown, and for his French possessions he was the vassal of the King of France. Long experience of the methods by which the obligations owed by himself to others might be ignored had not taught him the best means of securing the observance of the obligations owed by others to himself. Going far beyond the admitted rights of a Lord Paramount, and demanding an obedience much more implicit than William the Lion had rendered to Henry II., he made his vassal's position impossible in Scotland. Balliol was spared no humiliation. He must answer in an English court an action brought against him by the Gascon wine-merchant of Alexander III.; he must plead before Edward in Scottish cases. In 1294 he was summoned to London to receive instructions for the raising of money to enable Edward to resist his own liege lord. Philip IV. of France. Simple as Balliol was, the lesson was not lost upon him, and he returned to Scotland to negotiate a Franco-Scottish alliance. His homage, he said, had been extorted by violence, and he renounced it. as Edward had just renounced his own homage to Philip. Almost his first act was to revenge himself on his old enemies, the Bruces. Robert Bruce had just died, and Balliol drove out his son, Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick,

the father of the future King. The lands of the Bruce were given to John Comyn, who had succeeded his father as Earl of Buchan.* Open hostilities began in the winter of 1295-96.

Balliol had apparently chosen a propitious moment to rebel, for Edward was at war with France, he had a Welsh rebellion to suppress, and his extortionate taxation had produced unusually vehement protests in England. But no moment was really propitious for the enemies of Edward Plantagenet. Early in 1296 the English King marched to Scotland, and found the gates of Berwick-on-Tweed closed against him. The murder of some English merchants had given Edward a grievance against the town, and the citizens further irritated him by insults, the words of which have been handed down by tradition!

"Waune thou havest Berwick, pike thee, Waune thou havest geten, dike thee,"

they sang in the confidence of ignorance. Their town fell at the first onslaught, and Edward perpetrated a massacre which was the prelude to a fierce and cruel warfare. At Dunbar he defeated a Scottish army, and on July 7, 1296, at Stracathro, near Brechin, John Balliol abdicated his throne and surrendered his vassal kingship into the hands of the Lord Paramount. After an English imprisonment, he was allowed to end his days on his French estates of Bailleul. Scotland was a conquered country, and Edward made a triumphal progress as far

^{*} It is necessary to distinguish two branches of the Comyns. The Regents of 1286 included Alexander Comyn, Earl of Buchan, the head of the family, and John Comyn, lord of Badenach, the competitor, generally known as the Black Comyn. Alexander Comyn, Earl of Buchan, died in 1289, and was succeeded by his son, John Comyn. The Black Comyn died about 1300, and was succeeded by his son, also John Comyn, generally known as the Red. The Red Comyn was Balliol's nephew, and the rival of Robert Bruce, the future King.

north as Elgin. As overlord he had already taken possession of a large number of the records of the kingdom of Scotland, and in 1296 he seized others and sent the whole collection to London, where a few of them survive to this day. From Scone he carried off the Coronation Stone on which Alexander III, had been crowned as the representative of the Celtic Kings. The Scottish nobles were willing to submit to him. The Bruces, in accordance with their family tradition, had rallied to the English cause from the moment of Balliol's rebellion, and before Edward left Scotland about two thousand Scottish landowners signed the Ragman Roll, the shameful proof of submission. The country was placed under a military occupation, and Edward, never a good judge of men, appointed a Governor (John de Warrenne, Earl of Surrey) and a Treasurer (Hugh de Cressingham), who were singularly unfitted for their task.

That task was no easy one. The submission of the Anglo-Norman baronage did not carry with it the obedience of the Scottish people. A vassal King, a body of foreign or denationalized nobles, had proved an easy conquest: but Edward had now to meet a nation in The events of the year 1297 made the contemporary English chroniclers realize what Edward had forgotten-the difference between the Scottish Barons and the Scottish people. They all ascribe the revolt to the commons of Scotland as distinguished from the nobles, and one of them, Walter of Hemingburgh,* says that, though the magnates themselves were in Edward's army (not always willingly), their men were with his enemy. The leader of the rising was a simple knight, Sir William Wallace, of Elderslie, a younger son of a Renfrewshire gentleman whose ancestor had accompanied the Fitz-Alans to Scotland. He first attracted notice in the

^{*} Walter of Hemingburgh, or Hemingford, fl. 1300.

autumn of 1296. Later generations loved to tell a romantic story of a personal injury done to Wallace by an English official, and the cruelty of the garrisons renders it not improbable that in some such way the noblest of Scottish patriots received the call to his great mission. Whether or not he had a murdered wife to avenge, Wallace, by the early summer of 1297, was the recognized leader of the army of the commons of Scotland, and so hearty was the response to his summons to fight for the national freedom that some of the nobility, including the young Robert Bruce, temporarily deserted the English cause. In July they returned to their allegiance to Edward, and Wallace, undaunted, led his army from Ettrick Forest to attempt to recover the Castle of Dundee. Surrey and Cressingham followed in pursuit, and Wallace turned back to meet them on the great battle-ground of Scotland. His army included men from the Lothians, Celts from Galloway, Highlanders from Moray and Badenach, and Scots from the districts north of the Forth. On September 11, 1297, Wallace was posted on the Abbey Craig near Stirling, looking down upon a small bridge with which the monks of Cambuskenneth had spanned the Forth. The English were drawn up on the other side of the river, and they committed the grave blunder of attempting to cross in the face of the enemy. Wallace permitted the English van to make its way over the narrow bridge, and then dashed his spearmen upon them. The enemy failed to keep command of the bridge, and were soon driven into helpless confusion. Surrey, who was with the rearguard, found it impossible to render assistance to his van, and fled to Berwick. Cressingham, who had crossed the fatal bridge, was killed in the fight.

Wallace was now the ruler of Scotland, and for a year he governed in the name of John Balliol. The cruelties

of the sack of Berwick, by which Edward began the war, were avenged by an invasion of England, in which Wallace penetrated as far south as Hexham, ravaging in the manner of Malcolm Canmore and the sainted David. Meanwhile Edward made peace with the English Barons and a truce with France, and Wallace failed to capture Roxburgh and to prevent the English from recovering Berwick. In the summer of 1298, Edward, accompanied by the warlike Bishop of Durham, who "had such abundance of retinue that in his column there were thirty-two banners and a trio of Earls," led a large force into Scotland. Food was scarce, but Edward pressed on to Falkirk, where the Guardian of Scotland had assembled his army. "I have brought you to the ring, dance as you may," he said. The Scots were drawn up in the recognized formation of the day. The spearmen were in four great schiltrons or circles; "the front ranks knelt with their spear-butts fixed in the earth, the rear ranks levelled their lances over their comrades' heads; the thick-set grove of twelve-foot spears was far too dense for cavalry to penetrate." * Right and left of the schiltrons. and in the intervals between them, were bodies of archers, and the Scottish cavalry was in the rear. Edward began the battle by sending his horse to attempt to break up the schiltrons. They made no impression on the dense ranks of spearmen, but they destroyed the Scottish archers. Wallace's cavalry fled at the first approach of the English. The tradition that their flight was due rather to treachery than to terror is both persistent and probable, for the Anglo-Norman nobility were not likely to prove loyal followers of a simple gentleman. The archers, helpless against the English cavalry, died bravely for Scotland, and Edward deployed his horse and sent forward the English bowmen. There was no reply to

^{*} Professor Oman's Art of War, p. 567.

their volleys, nor any cavalry to scatter them, and the grey-goose shafts fell steadily and remorselessly on the Scots. When their deadly work was done, Edward again sent the chivalry of England upon the broken ranks of the spearmen, and the day was his (July 22, 1298).

Wallace, a fugitive from the lost battle, resigned his office of Guardian, and made his way to France. The example he had set inspired even the nobility, and new Regents took his place. Among them were Robert Bruce, the younger, and the Red Comyn. It is probable that Bruce had remained more or less faithful to the English until Falkirk, and his revolt after the victory requires some explanation. It is to be found partly in the disappearance of Wallace, which left open a place for a more selfish ambition, and partly in the difficulties which prevented Edward I. from following up his success and completing his conquest. The Scots had taken care that there should be no supply of food for him in Scotland, and when he re-entered England he found his Barons determined to wring from him an honest confirmation of the Charters of Liberties. The Castle of Stirling surrendered to the Scots in 1299, and the national cause seemed to have survived the great disaster. Edward invaded Scotland in 1300, but made no effort to reduce the country or to recover Stirling. At Sweetheart Abbey, on his homeward journey, he was met by the Archbishop of Canterbury, an unwelcome visitor, for he brought with him a letter from Boniface VIII. forbidding the English King to continue the conquest of Scotland, a kingdom which had always appertained to Holy Mother Church. Boniface had been coached in the Scottish case, and he reminded Edward of some awkward facts. It could not have escaped the royal memory, said the Pope, that when Edward's little niece, Margaret, succeeded to the Scottish throne, not the Sovereign of England, but the magnates

of Scotland, filled the office of Guardian, or that, when the Pope granted a dispensation for the marriage of Margaret and Prince Edward, it was on the understanding that Scotland was to remain a free and independent kingdom. The submission of the Scottish nobles had been extorted by force; if Edward could really prove the English supremacy, let him produce his evidence at The Pope did more harm than good to Scotland by his intervention, for the English national spirit was roused, and Edward held a sympathetic Parliament at Lincoln, and sent a long letter to Boniface on the relations between England and Scotland. To the conventional English case, with the omission of the agreement between Richard I. and William the Lion, he added the statement that in Margaret's minority the Scots treated him as their overlord, an assertion for which there is even less authority than for the rest of an interesting narrative. Ancient tradition and more original fiction were, of course, alike irrelevant; the point of the letter was that Edward and his people intended to reduce Scotland to subjection.

Two years elapsed before the English made any real effort to carry out their threats. In the intervals of short truces, expeditions were sent to ravage Scotland in 1301 and 1302. In February, 1303, an English army was defeated at Rosslyn by the Red Comyn, and Edward decided upon another invasion. He was now at peace with his Barons and with France, and the Pope had abandoned his attempt at intervention. In the summer of 1303 he made an unopposed march to Elgin, wintered in Scotland, and in July, 1304, captured Stirling Castle.

The surrender of Stirling Castle completed Edward's short-lived conquest. The Scottish nobility once more submitted to him, and the people were, for the time, helpless. Bruce had long ago been re-converted to the

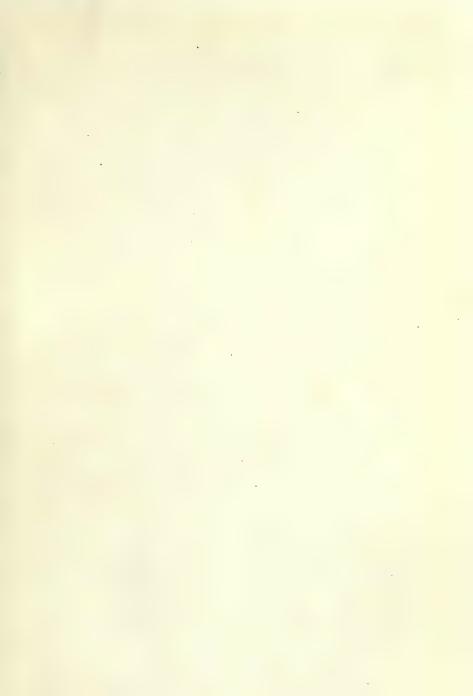
English cause. It is doubtful if his position as a Regent continued beyond one of the periods of truce. A contemporary authority asserts, possibly erroneously, that he attended Edward's Lincoln Parliament; and he certainly was appointed Sheriff of Lanarkshire in 1302. The victor of Rosslyn, the Red Comyn, and his co-regents came to terms with the English early in 1304, and agreed to accept a sentence of temporary banishment. Wallace, who had returned to Scotland, alone stood out after the fall of Stirling, and for Wallace there could be no submission. Edward ordered Comyn and others of Wallace's old allies to seek for him, and promised to shorten their exile if they betrayed him. In 1305 the English King heard with satisfaction that his great enemy was captured -betrayed, according to a not improbable tradition, by Sir John Menteith. Wallace was taken to London, where he endured the indignity of a mock trial and suffered a traitor's doom. The Englishmen who witnessed his death thought of him as "an outcast from pity, a robber, and a murderer, a man more cruel than the cruelty of Herod, and more insane than the fury of Nero," and to his mercilessness they ascribed his merciless end. Wallace, like Edward himself, had recognized no limits to the horrors of warfare, but his crime did not lie in the ferocious deeds perpetrated by or attributed to him. Nor, though he died the death of a traitor, with all its horrible and nameless torture, was treachery his offence. To Edward, King of England, he could be, as he himself said, no traitor, for he had never been within his allegiance, and in this very absence of treachery lay the front of his offending. His companions, noble and episcopal. had all sworn obedience to the conqueror, and were all forsworn in turn. For them there was the possibility of a fresh recantation and a new pardon; for him honour and a shameful death alone remained. "In the sight of

the unwise he seemed to die, but his name liveth for evermore," the name of the greatest and the most faithful of his country's heroes.

Among the courtiers of Edward who may have witnessed the trial and death of Wallace was Robert Bruce, now Lord of Annandale and Earl of Carrick. dominions of his grandfather, the competitor of 1290, had been enlarged by his father's romantic marriage with the heiress of the earldom of Carrick. His father, who died in 1304, had been living on his English estates for the last few years of his life, and the future King had been master of his Scottish heritage since the Battle of Falkirk. Edward regarded him as one of his best allies; but even while he was helping the English to take Stirling in 1304, he was conspiring against his trustful master. Early in 1305 he was present at Edward's Parliament in London, which made preliminary arrangements for the administration of Scotland, and he was probably among the Barons who, in the following September, when Wallace's head was resting on London Bridge, devised a wise and statesmanlike scheme for the government of Edward's new conquest-a scheme which, in other circumstances, might well have brought fresh lustre to the name of the English Justinian. Edward had done with vassal Kings, and he appointed his own nephew, John of Brittany, as the Viceroy of Scotland. The existing laws were, as far as possible, respected, and the existing divisions of the country were recognized by the issue of separate judicial commissions for Lothian, for Galloway and the south-west, for the partially Anglicized Scots north of the Forth, and for the Western Highlands. Scotland was to have a native Parliament, and, for the most part, native Sheriffs, and Edward's instinct for efficient administrative procedure is traceable throughout the new constitution. But an English chronicler records

that the result of a few months' experience of English administration was to convince the Scots that death was better than to be judged by the laws of England.

Scottish prejudices against the methods of justice of their English governors-and Walter of Hemingburgh tells us that they included burning and tearing to pieces by horses—were to prove of great value to Robert Bruce, who was now on the threshold of his heroic career. Without personal wrongs to avenge, and having afforded no indication of deep and earnest patriotism, Bruce had never ceased to cherish the ambition of realizing the destiny which his grandfather had struggled to achieve. On February 10, 1306, he met the Red Comyn in the church of the Minorite Friars at Dumfries. A meeting of Robert Bruce and John Comvn at this date would have been sufficiently remarkable even if there had been no tragedy to record. Comyn was regarded as having inherited, through his mother, the Balliol claim, and his attachment to the national cause which he had led to victory at Rosslyn rendered him worthy to inspire a new struggle for freedom. Of the circumstances which led to the interview we know nothing, for the conflicting accounts which have come down to us are all coloured by the prejudices of their writers. It is probable that Bruce and Comyn talked at Dumfries about the possibility of organizing resistance, and that they failed to reconcile their rival claims upon a royal state which had yet to be created. Evil passions are easily aroused by so personal an issue, and both were men of violent temper; during the short time of their co-regency they had once come to blows in the Great Council. Bruce inflicted a severe wound upon his rival, and left the church with the horror of a sacrilegious murder upon his conscience. His friends were less sensitive, and the tradition of their intervention is probably well founded. "I doubt I have slain the Red





KING JAMES III. (1460-1488). Page 122.
From the painting in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery.

Comyn," Bruce is reported to have said when he came out. "Doubt?" replied Sir Roger Fitzpatrick. "I'll mak sicear;" and Comyn was surely dead. The great future which lay before his assailant has been allowed unduly to depreciate the honourable past of the dead man. The Red Comyn had fought nobly and persistently for Scotland's right, and, even though, having done all that a man might, he endured not to the end, his courage and devotion do somewhat to redeem his mother's name of Balliol.

His enemy was left in parlous case. The absence of any preparations for a rising affords a strong presumption that the crime was unpremeditated. The murder of one claimant to the Scottish throne by the only other possible candidate must necessarily draw down the vengeance of the English King, with whom for two years Comyn had kept faith. To murder, Bruce had added the unforgivable crime of sacrilege, and from Rome there could come to him nothing but the "great and terrible cursing." The powerful family of the Comyns had a blood-feud to add to an hereditary enmity, and with the Comyns were united the friends of the Balliols. As an Anglo-Norman Baron, whose name had for more than half a century been associated with English influence in Scotland, and whose own past was stained by repeated defections from the Scottish cause, Bruce had to appeal for the support of the commons. It is perhaps the best proof of the force of Scottish nationality that clergy and people alike rallied round the person of the Baron who, of all the owners of wide Scottish lands, had seemed the least likely to be the hero of a War of Independence. The clergy had all along helped to inspire the national cause. The English Chronicle of Lanercost speaks of the rising under Wallace as an illustration of the saying that evil priests are a people's ruin, and ascribes to thirteenth-century

Scottish sermons an influence which we are accustomed to attribute to the preachers of the sixteenth. After the lapse of some months, a Papal Bull of Excommunication was issued against Bruce, but long before then three Scottish Bishops had helped to crown him, and though the Bishop of St. Andrews and some others of the prelates continued the devious course of treachery which they had followed hitherto, the loyalty of the clergy never wavered. On March 27, 1306, six weeks after the death of Comyn, Robert I. was crowned at Scone. The ancient crown and the Stone of Fate were 500 miles away, and the chief of the Clan Macduff did not come to perform his hereditary office of enthroning the King. But his sister, whose husband, the Earl of Buchan, was a Comyn and one of Edward's staunchest supporters, gave to the coronation of the new Sovereign the traditional dignity which still impressed the imagination of the Scots of the country north of the Forth. A Macduff had placed a circlet of gold on the royal head, and King Robert could claim that he was duly crowned.

The ceremony at Scone had been prematurely rendered necessary by the slaughter of the Comyn, and Bruce was not ready for the grave responsibility he had undertaken. But with the blessing of the often-perjured Bishop of St. Andrews, the slayer of the Red Comyn received the spirit of kingship. By courage and faithfulness he redeemed the years that the locusts had eaten; by wisdom and strength he proved himself worthy of the love and loyalty which had come to him unearned; he gave his people the skill that saved them from thraldom, and he showed them the wise and generous statesmanship which was fitted to guide them in the paths of peace. But peace was as yet afar off, and by a year of agony the Bruce atoned for the sin which had compelled him to

make war while the cost was yet uncounted. On June 19 his army was destroyed at Methven by the Earl of Pembroke. The English General had agreed to fight next day, but he at once availed himself of the advantage of a treacherous surprise, and Bruce, in the contemptuous words of Walter of Hemingburgh, proved "too trustful." In August he suffered a second defeat at the hands of Alexander of Lorn, a kinsman of the Comyn. Kildrummie Castle, in Aberdeenshire, which his brother, Nigel Bruce, was holding for the King, fell in September, and its commander was put to death. His Queen had been sent for safety to the sanctuary of St. Duthac at Tain, but with his daughter Marjory, the future mother of the first Stewart King, she was given up by the Earl of Ross. The two royal ladies and one of Bruce's sisters were imprisoned in England until after the Battle of Bannockburn. Another sister fell into the hands of the English, as did also the Countess of Buchan who had performed the ceremony at Scone. For them Edward decreed a less pleasant restraint than the Queen's enforced residence in an English manor-house. They were confined in the Castles of Berwick and Roxburgh in rooms which are described as "kages," and which were constructed partially of some kind of lattice-work. It was believed in Scotland that they were placed in iron cages which were hung on the walls of the castles. The fate of Nigel Bruce was shared by large numbers of the new King's followers, clerk and lay, noble and simple. The clemency which Edward had hitherto shown to prisoners was now abandoned. It had not proved a successful policy, but no policy had any chance of success while Scotland was still determined to be free.

During the winter of 1306-07, Bruce himself was a hunted fugitive. This is the period of the opening cantos of the *Lord of the Isles* and of the romantic tales of

the early books of Barbour's* Bruce. Along with his friend, Sir James of Douglas, he wandered through Athol and Argyll, and was at last driven to winter in the Island of Rachrin, off the coast of Antrim. Douglas was the son of Sir William Douglas, who had held Berwick against Edward I., and as "the Good Douglas" he is second only to Bruce himself in the memories of the great struggle. By the English he was known as the "Black Douglas," from his dark complexion, and in the coming years English mothers were to sing of him to their babes:

"Hush ye, hush ye, do not fret ye, The Black Douglas shall not get ye."

Early in 1307 Bruce crossed from Rachrin to Arran, and in February he landed in his mother's land of Carrick. The beacon which was to be the signal that the propitious moment had come blazed forth from the neighbourhood of his own castle of Turnberry, but no friend of the Bruce had lit it:

"Now ask you whence that wondrous light, Whose fairy glow beguiled their sight?—
It ne'er was known—yet gray-haired eld A superstitious credence held,
That never did a mortal hand
Wake its broad glare on Carrick strand."

The moment was not propitious, for Turnberry was in the hands of the enemy, and Bruce was still a wanderer, pursued by Edward's emissaries: bloodhounds and paid assassins. Two of his brothers were captured, and their heads placed on the walls of Carlisle. The Douglas won a small victory and recovered his own castle, an exploit the ferocity of which was long remembered as the "Douglas Larder." He did not hold the castle, for, as he said, it was "better to hear the lark sing than the mouse squeak,"

^{*} John Barbour, Archdeacon of Aberdeen, born about 1816, died 1895.

and his work had to be done in the open. On May 10, /3 57 Bruce defeated his old enemy, Pembroke, at Loudon Hill, in Ayrshire, and the battle was the turning-point of the war. Edward had been in the North of England since the preceding summer, and his English levies had assembled at Carlisle. On July 3 he led his army towards the Scottish border; on the 6th he died suddenly at Burgh-on-Sands, about seven miles from Carlisle. "The old King," says a recent English historian, "had failed in the great purpose of his life." If Edward Plantagenet died with the sense of failure upon him, the woes of Scotland were avenged.

His death deprived the English party in Scotland of the strength and the purpose which were necessary for the subjugation of the country. Edward II, led the army into Ayrshire, and then carried his father's bones to Westminster. King Robert, in the spring of 1307, was only a guerilla leader; within two years he had established his power in the land. His Scottish foes included the ancient enemies of his house, and those whom he had alienated by the murder of Comyn. Among the latter were the Highlanders of Argyll, some of the Islesmen, the men of Badenach, and the clans of Galloway. The Highlanders were not, as a body, opposed to the Bruce; Sir Nigel Campbell had been his friend throughout, and Angus Og, of Isla, had supported him through the winter of 1306-07. After the departure of the English army, the King's first task was to subdue the hereditary dominions of the Comyns. His campaign in Aberdeenshire was successful, for at Slains, and again at Inverurie, he defeated the Earl of Buchan, the husband of the lady who had crowned him. The district was wasted and burned, and Barbour says that men remembered for fifty years the "hership [harrying] of Buchan"; he must have known personally many of the sufferers. Except for the Comyns, the English cause in the North was weak. Later chroniclers tell that, after taking Aberdeen and Forfar, the Bruce received the submission of Moray and the surrender of the Castle of Inverness, and describe how the Earl of Ross made his peace with the King. Whether their story is true or false, Bruce had little or no work to do in these districts. His brother, Edward Bruce, subdued Galloway, and Tweeddale was recovered for the national cause. In the end of 1308 or the beginning of 1309, Bruce and Douglas defeated the Macdonalds of Lorn, and the Castle of Dunstaffnage was captured in the summer. The friends of the murdered Comyn had by this time done their worst.

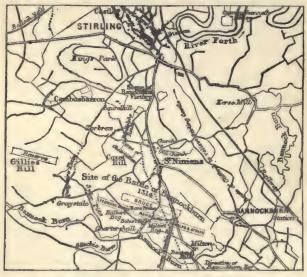
A record of a Parliament held at St. Andrews in 1309 to acknowledge the King's title is of doubtful authenticity, but, with or without such recognition, almost the whole of the North of Scotland was in fact under the rule of Robert Bruce. In February, 1310, the clergy made at Dundee a solemn declaration of fealty to their excommunicated monarch. English garrisons still held the great castles of the south, and the story of their gradual recovery is the most stirring tale of Scottish childhood: How the farmer Binning, with his cartloads of hay, took the Castle of Linlithgow; how the Black Douglas and his men crept like a herd of cattle to the walls of Roxburgh and surprised the garrison; and how Randolph, the King's nephew, penitent and forgiven for a temporary defection, climbed the castle rock at Edinburgh with thirty followers and seized the castle. Linlithgow was gained in 1311, Bruce himself took Perth in January, 1313, Roxburgh fell in February, and Edinburgh in March. Edward II. had not been quite idle, but his best effort was a futile invasion in 1310, in return for which Bruce ravaged the English borders next year and the year after. In 1312 he nearly captured Berwick,

and in 1313 he restored the Isle of Man to the Scottish Crown.

Stirling was still in English hands, and at Midsummer, 1313, Edward Bruce made a chivalrous bargain with the English Governor. If the castle was not relieved within a year, it was to be given up by the garrison. The agreement ran counter to the whole policy of King Robert, who had acted on the principle of demolishing castles, lest their occupation should involve him in a pitched battle, and whose practice was to waste the country before an English invader, and to refuse him the opportunity of employing his superior numbers in a great conflict. In the geography of the country lay one of the great hopes of Scottish independence; the surprise of strongholds, isolated skirmishes, and attacks on the rearguard of a hostile army, were the methods of warfare which had established the power of the Bruce. To risk everything on the chances of one great battle was to throw away the advantage afforded by the geographical conditions.

To convince the Scots of their presumption, Edward II. led a large army into Scotland in the early summer of 1314. The arrogance with which the English chroniclers speak of the military powers of the Scots up to this date was shared by their King, and he brought with him a poet to celebrate his victory. The Bruce fully realized the gravity of the situation, and he "trysted" his men to meet a little south of Stirling, on the verge of the Torwood Forest, so that, if success seemed impossible of realization, he might retreat and decline the unequal contest. As the English approached, he took up a position in the New Park or Forest, which commanded both the ways by which they might attempt to relieve the Castle of Stirling. The main body of the Scots held the road through the Park, and Randolph, who had just

been created Earl of Moray, guarded the level tract between the Park and the River Forth. On the afternoon of a warm summer day (Sunday, June 23) the English came within sight, and Edward pitched his camp at Charter's Hall. Between him and the Scots ran the Bannockburn, which covered the Scottish left and front; the right was protected by two morasses, the Milton Bog and Halbert Bog, and by the Park. The way to the



PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF BANNOCKBURN, 1314.

There is very little evidence for the position of the armies.

castle had, according to the most persistent tradition about the battle, been prepared for the advance of the English cavalry by a series of pitfalls and by calthrops to main the horses' feet. A body of English knights passed unchallenged by Randolph's post, and drew from King Robert the exclamation that "a rose of his chaplete was fallyn." Stung by the taunt, Randolph offered battle,

and the English turned back to meet him. It was a skirmish of infantry against cavalry, and Randolph warned his men to have their spears in readiness.

> "And bak to bak set all your rout And all the speris poyntis out."

As the Scottish host watched the combat, the Douglas, "doughty of heart," became alarmed for Randolph's safety, and with great difficulty obtained the King's permission to go to his rescue. As he advanced, he perceived the English wavering, and he halted his men. It were sin, he said, to lessen Randolph's glory; he had achieved the impossible: let him have all that he had won; and Randolph pressed the foe so hard that they "durst abide ne mair."

While Randolph was engaging the knights, the most romantic incident of the conflict took place. The Earl of Gloucester, with the vanguard of the English army, moved up to where King Robert was with the main body of the Scots. When the King saw them approaching, he began to prepare for battle, and he rode down the line on a small palfrey, battle-axe in hand. One of Gloucester's party,

"Sir Henry the Boune, the worthy That was a wight knight and a hardy,"

rode out in front of his comrades on his great war-horse and made for the King, whom he recognized by the circlet of gold on his headpiece. Bruce eluded the shock:

> "Sir Henry missed the noble king, And he, that in his stirrups stood, With the axe that was hard and good,"

clove De Bohun's head in twain. The Scots, inspired by this great "first stroke of the fight," attacked, and the enemy retreated. His comrades reproved the King for so rash an adventure; Bruce made no answer, but gazed at his broken battle-axe.

When Randolph rejoined him with his victorious troops, Bruce held a council of war, and they determined to fight next day "for wife and child and freedom."

"We have the right, And for the right aye God will fight,"

said the King. Morning broke on a fair June day, and the Scottish host heard Mass and moved out to battle. The front line was composed of three circles of spearmen under Randolph, Edward Bruce, and the Black Douglas. The men of Carrick, with the Highlanders and Islesmen, under the faithful Angus Og, formed the reserve, of which the King himself took charge. Sir Robert Keith, the Marischal of Scotland, commanded the small body of cavalry. "Will you Scots fight?" asked the King of England as he saw them advance. Presently they knelt down. "They ask mercy!" he exclaimed triumphantly. "They ask mercy," one of his followers replied, "but not of you. These men will win or die." "Be it so," said Edward, and he gave the signal for the fight. The English had crossed the Bannockburn, and they were now hemmed in by stream and marsh. Gloucester and his vanguard spurred their horses and rushed upon the Scottish division commanded by Edward Bruce. Horse and rider fell before the steady wall of spears, and frightened horses rushed back riderless, bringing confusion and terror with them. Randolph moved forward and met another body of the English cavalry coming proudly on; the front ranks of the enemy were soon borne to earth, and the Scots gradually penetrated the English line, until they seemed lost in the foemen's ranks, "as they were plungëd in the sea."

Douglas, with the stripling Walter the Steward, moved on to the help of Randolph, and the battle raged furiously. Spears clashed with armour; knights fell; there was no sound of human voice save the groans of the dying:

"They fought each one so eagerly
That they made neither noise nor cry."

The "hideous shower" of English arrows told sadly on the ranks of the spearmen, and, had it lasted, "it had been hard to Scottishmen." But the King knew well the peril of the arrow, and sent his horse upon the English bowmen with lance and spear. They were soon scattered, and the Scottish archers began to "wax hardy, and shot eagerly among the horsemen." Scottish voices were heard, shouting, "On them, on them, on them; they fail!" and the English resistance gradually lessened. They had taken too little ground, and it was impossible to rally or to send up fresh soldiers from the rear to meet the spearmen, who were slowly making good their advance, and still further lessening the narrow space in which the English were fighting. With the consciousness of defeat already upon them, the English saw a new army coming to reinforce the Scots. The camp-followers on the Gillies' Hill had watched the progress of the battle, and, deeming a Scottish victory certain, they resolved to "see the fight." Cutting down young trees, they used them as poles, and converted their blankets into banners, and they rushed down the hill shouting, "Slay, slay! upon them hastily!" King Robert's battle-cry sounded over the field, as he and the other Scottish leaders perceived the effect of the incident upon the enemy. The flight had begun, but still "they that were wight and hardy "maintained their resistance against terrible odds. Many of the English, like Sir Giles de Argentine, chose "here to bide and die." Another fate was reserved for their unfortunate King. "Sire," said Sir Giles to Edward, "your rein was committed to me; you are now in safety; there is your castle, where your person may be safe. I am not accustomed to fly, nor am I going to begin now. I commend you to God." While Sir Giles was making his last brave charge upon the Scots and dying amid Edward Bruce's spearmen, his Sovereign pressed on to the castle. But Stirling was no stronghold for a King of England, and its Governor warned Edward that it could not stand a siege. Closely pursued by Douglas, he fled to Dunbar, and thence to Berwick.

It is not possible to tell the numbers of Englishmen who died on the "evil deep wet marsh" of the Bannockburn. Edward's great host fled in complete rout and with terrible slaughter. The spoils of his camp adorned Scottish homes and churches till the Reformation. Bruce held many prisoners to ransom, and his wife and daughter returned to Scotland to share his triumph. Though the independence of Scotland was won on the field of Bannockburn, fourteen years had to pass before it was acknowledged. The military history of the years that followed Bruce's greatest day is, of necessity, of the nature of an anti-climax. The Scots fought, with varying success, in England and in Ireland; the English, with unvarying evil fortune, in Scotland. In 1315, Edward Bruce invaded Ireland, in the hope of carving out for himself a kingdom in the distressful land. In May, 1316, he was crowned King of Ireland, but his kingdom was still to win. King Robert conducted an Irish campaign in 1316-17, and the two royal brothers had some successes, but in October, 1318, Edward Bruce was defeated and slain near Dundalk. Meanwhile Pope John XXII. had been trying to make peace between England and Scotland. The excommunicated monarch became "our well-beloved son," but the Papacy still refused to acknowledge his kingship, and the Bruce, strong in the knowledge of the loyalty of the Scottish clergy, treated with an easy and tolerant amusement

the efforts of Mother Church. His most cogent reply to the Pope was the capture, in 1318, of Berwick-on-Tweed, which had been held by the English for twenty years. Next year Edward II. failed to regain the town. and Douglas and Randolph defeated, at Mitton-on-Swale, the clerical army of the Archbishop of York. These triumphs lightened the burden of Papal curses, and procured a two years' truce, during which the Scottish clergy sent the Pope a character-sketch of Edward I., drawn in much the same colours as the English chroniclers use to depict Wallace. A mysterious plot temporarily weakened the position of Bruce, and the English King, emboldened by a success over his own Barons, again besieged Berwick in 1322, and ravaged the Lothians, where, as usual, he found food neither for man nor for beast. He retreated into Yorkshire, was surprised by King Robert at Byland, and fled for his life. "The Scots," says the English writer of the Scalacronica, "were so fierce, and their chiefs so daring, and the English so badly cowed, that it was no otherwise between them than as a hare before greyhounds." Treachery added to Edward's military troubles, and a truce for thirteen years was made in March, 1323. The Pope offered to acknowledge Bruce and recall the ban of excommunication if he would restore Berwick to the English; the condition was not accepted, but the Papal acknowledgment was given.

The deposition of Edward II. was followed by a vigorous Scottish invasion, and the English began to despair of their ability to meet "these Scottish men, right hardy and sore travailing in harness and in wars. . . . They carry with them none other purveyance, but on their horse between the saddle and the panel they truss a broad plate of metal, and behind the saddle they will have a little sack of oatmeal, to the intent that when they have

eaten of the sodden flesh [of captured beasts], then they lay this plate on the fire and mix a little oatmeal, and when the plate is hot they cast of the thin paste thereon, and so make a little cake in manner of a cracknel or biscuit, and that they eat to comfort withal their stomachs. Wherefore it is no marvel though they make greater journeys than other people do." Against this mobile force the English Regents brought the young Edward III., who commenced his glorious career by narrowly escaping capture. In May, 1328, the English Government agreed to the Treaty of Northampton, by which the independence of Scotland was acknowledged.

The authority of King Robert had long been accepted by the whole country, and Highlanders and Islesmen had fought for him at Byland as at Bannockburn. "The Scots who resisted Edward," wrote Professor Freeman, "were the English of Lothian. The true Scots, out of hatred to the 'Saxons' nearest to them, leagued with the 'Saxons' farther off." The history of the War of Independence affords no proof for this dogmatic generalization. Centuries had to pass before the Scottish Highlanders were taught to speak of their Lowland countrymen as "Saxons," and the story of the Bruce's wars is not the story of a country divided by racial feeling. There was always an English party in Scotland, or, more accurately, there were always Scottish nobles who intrigued with the English; but they never had either racial or geographical unity: their motives were always personal, and their objects invariably capable of definite explanation. The Scottish enemies of Bruce were separated from him by a blood-feud, and it was not easy for him either to grant or to receive forgiveness. Many of them refused to enter his peace and accept his rule, and the Treaty of Northampton secured no provision for the friends of the English. King Robert sur-

vived the treaty for less than a year. He left his country two great legacies—wise precepts for retaining the freedom he had gained, and the means through which constitutional liberty might be achieved by a united nation. The Scots honoured his great name, but forgot the lessons he had tried to teach. They failed in the methods of fighting which tradition described as "good King Robert's Testament," and they could never be persuaded to make the continuous effort which was necessary to keep the nation in a state of defence. The neglect of the lessons taught by Bruce's wars was the moral, ever disregarded, of many a Border battle-field. Nor did Scotland, until very late in its history as a separate nation, succeed in employing the constitutional machinery introduced by King Robert. In the English Parliaments of his great enemy he had grasped the significance of the principle that what touches all should be considered by all, and, as the ruler of Scotland, he made a memorable change in the constitution of the Scottish Parliament. Under his predecessors it had been in theory the Great Council of all the tenants who held their lands directly from the Crown, in practice a meeting of the great Barons. In 1326, King Robert summoned to a Parliament at the Abbey of Cambuskenneth "burgesses and all other free tenants of the kingdom." * If the precedent thus created did not possess the full significance of the summons of English burgesses by Simon de Montfort and by Edward I., vet it was, at the least, a recognition of the right of the commonalty to discuss the expenditure of the kingdom. But more than a century had to pass before this came to be regarded as an essential element in the constitution. and even when it was admitted, much remained to be done before anything resembling constitutional govern-

^{*} Cf. the present writer's Scottish Parliament before the Union of the Crowns.

ment was achieved in the last dying years of the Parliament of Scotland.

The end of the Bruce's life was clouded by the death of his Queen in 1327, and by a painful disease, generally believed to be leprosy. On June 7, 1329, at Cardross, on the Clyde, died

"He that all our comfort was, Our wit and all our governing."

Amid lamentations which Barbour thought it passed the skill of poets to recount, Robert I. was buried by his wife at Dunfermline. His heart, in accordance with his dying wish, was entrusted to Douglas's "high emprise," to be carried into battle against the infidel. The Douglas fell on a Spanish battle-field, and the Bruce's heart was carried back to Scotland with the bones of Douglas, and laid to rest at Melrose;

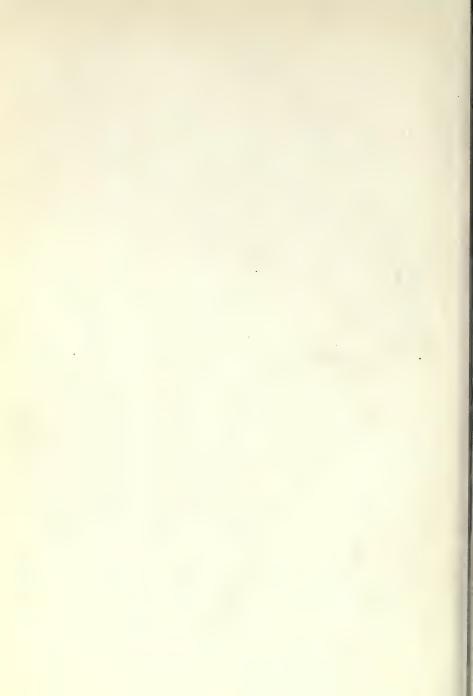
"... where men pray aye
That he and his have Paradise."

King Robert left as his successor a boy of five, whose right had been acknowledged by the Parliament of Cambuskenneth, and who, in accordance with a provision of the Treaty of Northampton, had already been married to the Princess Joanna, sister of Edward III. Marjorie Bruce, the only daughter of the King's first marriage and heir-presumptive to her half-brother, was now the widow of Walter the Steward, who had fought with Douglas at Bannockburn, and the mother of a son who was to become the Sovereign of Scotland. David II. contributed little to the making of Scotland, but his inglorious reign shows how deep were the foundations upon which his father had built. The strength which had come out of weakness, and which had made the Scottish name feared as well as hated in England, seemed at first to have passed away with the leaders in the great war. When Bruce



KING JAMES IV. (1488-1518). Page 126.

From the painting in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery.



lay in his marble tomb at Dunfermline and Douglas among his own people, there was left but one Scotsman who had attained unto the rank of the first three. Randolph, Earl of Moray, was the Regent of Scotland for three years after Bruce's death. These years saw the overthrow of the English Queen-Mother and her paramour, and the establishment of the personal rule of Edward III. The young King soon found a pretext for denouncing the "shameful treaty" of Northampton. Espousing the cause of the "disinherited" who had lost their Scottish lands for their allegiance to the English, he recognized Edward Balliol as King of Scotland, and lent him an army with which to regain his father's vassal crown. In June, 1332, while the son of John Balliol was preparing for his invasion, the Regent died at Musselburgh, the last of the paladins of King Robert. Randolph was succeeded by his cousin, the Earl of Mar, also, but not likewise, a nephew of the Bruce. Balliol landed at Kinghorn and marched towards Perth. Mar, at the head of a larger army, met him at Dupplin. The Scots had begun to despise their enemy, and boasted over their cups of dragging the Englishmen by the tails which every medieval hater of England knew them to possess. They allowed the English army to cross the River Earn on the night of August 11, and, next morning, they made a headlong rush at the foe. Armed with pikes and spears, they thrust at the main body of the English, neglecting the long thin line of bowmen which extended on either side. Skill and archery won the day, and on September 24 "Edward I." was crowned at Scone as the liegeman of the King of England. Twelve weeks later he fled from the Scottish borders, "one leg booted and the other naked." The leaders of the small force which surprised King Edward Balliol at Annan were a son of Randolph and a brother of the Black Douglas. The incident supplies the only

heroic episode in the career of Sir Archibald Douglas, who, in 1333, became Regent of Scotland, and earned for himself the name of "Tyneman the Unlucky." Edward III., "eager for arms and glory," undertook the restoration of Balliol, and besieged Berwick. The Scots claimed that they had technically relieved the town, but it was no time for formal arguments about the laws of arms, and the English King hanged a hostage and forced the Regent to fight a pitched battle. The narrative of Dupplin Moor is the story of Halidon Hill, where, on July 19, 1333, a great Scottish army was destroyed by the bowmen of England. The Regent Douglas was slain and the Earl of Moray fled to France. The English rejoiced that the shame of Bannockburn had been wiped out.

"Scots out of Berwick, and out of Aberdeen,
At the Burn of Bannock, ye were far too keen.
Many guiltless men ye slew, as was clearly seen.
But King Edward has avenged it now, and fully too, I ween,
He has avenged it well, I ween. Woe worth the while!
I bid you all beware of Scots, for they are full of guile,"

sang the soldier-poet, Lawrence Minot.*

After the Battle of Halidon Hill, Balliol ceded to Edward III. the counties of Dumfries, Roxburgh, Berwick, Selkirk, Peebles, Haddington, Edinburgh, and Linlithgow. The Scots were hopelessly divided, for the English party had gained courage and confidence. Once again there is no indication that they fought for anything but personal advantage. Divided as the Scots were, the division was neither racial nor geographical, and Highlanders from Ross and Sutherland and Argyll fought on the national side at Halidon Hill along with Stewarts and Gordons and Boyds. There were many traitors and turncoats, but, after their manner, they soon began to quarrel among themselves. The Earl of Moray returned from France, and along with Robert the High Steward,

^{*} Translated by F. York Powell.

the nephew and heir of the little King, undertook the guardianship of Scotland. In 1334, and again in 1335, Edward ravaged Scotland, and although the Scots drove Balliol again to take refuge in England, and won two small victories at the Borough Muir of Edinburgh and at Kilblain, the cause of freedom seemed wellnigh hopeless. The Lord of the Isles made terms with Balliol. Edward III., in the summer of 1336, penetrated as far north as Elgin, burning and slaying in the fashion of his grandfather, and there was famine in the land. But in the winter of 1336-37 some of the strongholds were taken from the English, and the following autumn brought the good news that Edward had resolved to win for himself a wider and a fairer domain than the eight Scottish counties which his vassal had surrendered to him. The Sovereign of England adopted the style of King of France, and the Scots were left to deal in their own way with Scottish traitors and English garrisons. That way was now the way of Bruce and Douglas and Randolph. Castle after castle was recovered in the next four years, and though the English long held great tracts of Southern Scotland, the national independence was safe. The noblest tale of these days is of the siege of the Castle of Dunbar, assaulted by the English by land and sea. It was defended by the great Randolph's daughter, Agnes, Countess of March, whose lord, after many tergiversations, had resolved to stand by his young King. After six months of fruitless effort the English had to raise the siege;

> "Came I early, came I late, I found Agnes at the gate."

When Stirling and Edinburgh were in Scottish hands, it was deemed safe to bring back David II. from France, where he had been sent in 1334. To the foreign influences of seven years in France were soon to be added

those of an eleven years' captivity in England. In the year of the campaign of Crécy he attempted to assist his French allies by an invasion of England. A quarrel among the Islesmen deprived him of a part of his army, but he entered England with a considerable force, and in October, 1346, he faced, at Neville's Cross, near Durham, an English host led by the clergy of the northern province. The "wretched monks" completely defeated him and captured his person, and "all men with one accord laid the blame upon the plundering of churches" which had marked David's southward march. Another explanation may be found in the usual neglect of the English archers. As at Dupplin and Halidon, they were spread out so as to command both the wings of the Scottish army. No charge of cavalry harassed them or disturbed their aim, and the Scots, outmanœuvred and forced to fight in a narrow space, fell an easy prey to the enemy. David, who had shown personal courage in the battle, lived happily in England, while Robert the Steward ruled Scotland and evinced no strong desire for the return of the captive. In 1352, David was allowed to visit Scotland to negotiate for his ransom. He failed, probably through suggesting dishonourable terms, and an agreement made in 1354 was not carried out. The Black Death, despite many vows to St. Sebastian, whose cult was regarded as "the sovereign remedy" for the pestilence, had carried off a large proportion of the poorer classes, but the Scots made another effort on behalf of the French, and won, in 1355, a small victory at Nesbit in Berwickshire, and captured the town of Berwick. Edward retook it next year, and revenged himself by a devastation of Southern Scotland, in which he spared neither church nor monastery. The "Burned Candlemas" of 1356 was long remembered in Scotland; it is satisfactory to know that it was to some extent avenged by attacks on Edward's





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MARGARET TUDOR, ELDEST DAUGHTER OF HENRY VII. Page 134.

Born 1489, and was married to James IV. in 1503.

From the painting in the style of Dernard Van Orley in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

retreating army. At last, in 1357, peace was made, and David returned to raise the large ransom with which the Scots had bought his freedom. He loved the chivalry of England and the splendour of Edward's Court, and he hated the nephew by whom he was to be succeeded. In 1363, the son of Robert Bruce went to London and offered to sell the freedom of Scotland to the grandson of Edward I. The poverty of the country and his own extravagant expenditure made it difficult to raise the yearly instalment of his ransom, and he offered, in lieu of gold, to acknowledge either Edward himself or one of his sons as the heir to the throne of Scotland. The second alternative was regarded as more likely to please the Scots, and David, on his return, laid before his Parliament a proposition that Prince Lionel of England should, in default of issue of his own body, be acknowledged the heir of Scotland. The long absence of the King, the weakness of Robert the Steward, and the necessity of raising the ransom money, had recently given to the Scottish Estates a temporary possession of the supreme power, and even at the worst of times they would have declined to agree

> "That only Inglis mannys sone Into that honour suld be done."

The negotiations came at once to an end, and the "Englishman" whose son had been contemned demanded payment to the uttermost farthing, disowned King David, and prepared to conquer Scotland. The grave difficulty of raising the payments for the royal ransom caused great discontent, and the Lord of the Isles threatened rebellion. But the Black Prince had meanwhile involved England in a new French war, and Edward, in 1369, agreed to a truce with Scotland. The Islesmen submitted, and David was free to attend to his domestic

troubles. Queen Joanna had died in 1362, on one of the frequent visits which she and her husband paid to England after his captivity was ended. David had married again, and was trying to divorce his second wife, for whose sake he had indulged in a new feud with Robert the Steward. His repudiation of her nearly brought the country under an interdict, while the King was vowing to go upon a Crusade. In February, 1371, David died. He had got a good deal of pleasure out of life in spite of adverse conditions. His country owed him no gratitude and gave him none. It was perhaps right that his father's son should not die in the English captivity which he loved, but the Scots would have been well advised to leave him a hostage in Edward's hands. The essential strength of the Scottish love of freedom was shown when a nation rallied under the standard of the friend of Edward I., and it is not less clearly discernible when we consider that the independence of Scotland survived the reign of David Bruce.

CHAPTER V

THE KINGDOM OF SCOTLAND

THE reigns of the first two Kings of the House of Stewart connect the struggle for independence with what is generally known as the period of the Jameses, the two centuries during which Scotland, as a free and independent kingdom, followed its own destiny, created its internal organization, and laid the foundations of a system the influence of which can readily be traced today. Robert II. ruled for nineteen years (1371-1390), and his son for sixteen years (1390-1406). Their reigns are memorable in tradition and legend. A dead Douglas won the field at Otterburn, Hal o' the Wynd fought for his own hand in the battle of the clans at Perth, and the heir to the throne died mysteriously at Falkland. It is the period of Froissart and of the Fair Maid of Perth, of men and deeds enshrined in ballad and romance. chivalrous and the tragic in these familiar stories depend upon no myths: to the annalist they are not less real than to the poet. They are immortal by virtue of an eternal hold upon the imagination. "A very wise man," said a later Scottish statesman, "believed that if a man were permitted to make all the ballads, he need not care who should make the laws of a nation." Judged by this test, the thirty-five years of the two Roberts have a very large place in the record of the making of Scotland, and this is their highest importance in our story.

The belief, commonly held in England, that the medieval Scots paid in continuous poverty and misery the penalty of their refusal to meet the benevolent wishes of Edward I. is approximately true of the last quarter of the fourteenth century. Chroniclers and Acts of Parliament bear witness to the sorrows of Scotland. The strong, they tell us, oppressed the weak, murders and ravages were of everyday occurrence, justice seemed to have deserted the land. The explanation lies in the weakness of the Kings, the ambition of the great Border family of Douglas, and the almost constant warfare with England. When Robert the Steward—the title of the office had been adopted as the family name, and soon came frequently to be written "Stewart"-ascended the throne, he was nearly fifty-six years of age, older by eight years than the uncle whom he succeeded, and already a man whose best work was done. He was tall and handsome, but the beauty of his countenance was spoiled by his inflamed eyes—so bloodshot, says Froissart, that they looked as if they were lined with scarlet. Peaceable and kindly in his old age,

"A tenderer heart might no man have."

The succession was disputed by William, Earl of Douglas, who seems to have taken the view that might was capable of conferring right. He did not, however, put it to the test, but was content with a marriage alliance with the royal family and an increase of his own power which made him almost the Sovereign of the South of Scotland. The reign began with a renewal of the French alliance; in 1372 an offensive and defensive treaty permanently united Scotland and France against England. A nominal truce existed between England and Scotland, but the English still held Scottish Border strongholds, and Border warfare went on continuously. The Scots, under

the Earl of March, son of Black Agnes, "made slaughter and pillage of the English" at the Bloody Fair of Roxburgh in 1377, and the Earl of Northumberland, in revenge, wasted the country near Dunse, and, after three days, was driven back ignominiously. A temporary capture of Berwick in 1378 brought fresh glory to the Scottish arms, and petty invasions and counter-invasions led, in 1380, to the despatch of an English army against Scotland. Its commander, John of Gaunt, desired peace, and he had no difficulty in persuading the Scots to make a short truce. Next year he came back again, fortunately for his own safety. He left London in May; if he had delayed a few weeks longer, he would almost certainly have perished in the Peasants' Revolt. His second visit prolonged the truce till 1384, and the peace-maker, whose unpopularity in England prevented his return to London, went to Holyrood as the guest of the Scots.

When the truce expired, early in 1384, the Scots were included in a fresh truce made between England and France; but its existence was concealed from the Scots for two months, and both countries were ready to take advantage of an opportunity for warfare. The Scots captured Lochmaben Castle, and restored Scottish rule in Annandale, and John of Gaunt invaded Scotland, "doing as little evil as he could for the courtesy and hospitality with which he himself had been received." The new truce was short-lived, but even while it was nominally in existence some French knights, with their Scottish hosts, made an unauthorized raid upon the lands of the Percies, who retaliated in like manner. Berwick had been taken and retaken before the technical renewal of warfare in 1385. French soldiers were sent to Scotland; they were from the first on bad terms with the Scots, and they could not be expected to sympathize with the Scottish desire to avoid a pitched battle. They took part in nothing greater than a Border raid, which was avenged after their departure by an invasion conducted by Richard II. in person, and remarkable for its ferocity. "He ravaged all things in his pride, sparing nothing, saving nothing, and having no mercy on age or on religion." The ultimate fate of the English monarch seemed to the Scottish chroniclers to be the judgment of God to avenge the smoking ruins of the great abbeys of Melrose, Dryburgh, and Newbattle.

The Scots did not wait for the Divine vengeance. An army, led by King Robert's second son, the Earl of Fife, and James, Earl of Douglas, invaded England, and the force under Douglas won, in August, 1388, the Battle of

Otterburn;

"This was the Hunting of the Cheviot
That e'er began this spurn!
Old men, that knowen the ground well,
Call it of Otterburn.

"There never was a time on the Marche-partès Since the Douglas and Percy met But 'tis marvel an the red blood run not As the reane does in the street,"

Robert II. died in 1390. He was seventy-four years old, an age reached by no Sovereign of the turbulent kingdom of England until the eighteenth century. In his last year, the Earl of Fife had acted as Guardian of the kingdom, and this arrangement continued through the greater part of the new reign. The Earl of Carrick, when he abandoned his own name of John, unlucky alike in English, in French, and in Scottish history, for the more illustrious title of Robert III., was about fifty-three years of age. Tall, like his father, he had already a long white beard, and he was generally regarded as a genial man, too feeble for the task to which he was called. A kick from the horse of a Douglas had rendered him permanently lame, and seriously affected his health. His

legitimacy, like that of his masterful younger brother who ruled the kingdom, was open to grave doubts, for it depended upon legitimization by subsequent matrimony, and his half-brother, the Earl of Athol, had reasonable grounds for regarding him as merely one of the numerous illicit progeny of Robert II. The latter portion of the epitaph which he is recorded to have suggested for himself, "the worst of Kings and the most wretched of men," was appropriate enough for his sad life and his troubled reign.

For the first ten years, except for Border outrages, there was peace with England, but almost constant disorder in Scotland itself. The chroniclers record the ferocity of the King's brother, the Wolf of Badenoch, who ravaged Morayshire and burned the cathedral church at Elgin, and they tell of tumults and fighting in Forfarshire and in Aberdeenshire, as well as of the clan fight in 1396 on the North Inch of Perth, when official sanction was given to a strange tournament. The clans, generally described as Chattan and Kay, sent thirty men each to combat in the presence of the King. Only twelve are recorded to have survived, including Hal o' the Wynd, the Perth blacksmith, who had filled a vacant place in the ranks of the Clan Chattan. A deadly feud in the royal family led to the greatest tragedy of the reign. The King's eldest son, who in 1398 had been created Duke of Rothesay, determined to wrest the government from the hands of his uncle, who had become Duke of Albany in the same year. Rothesay, who seems not to have deserved Wyntoun's epitaph of "sweet and virtuous," became Guardian in 1399. He began his two years' rule by driving a powerful Scottish noble into the English camp. The daughter of the Earl of March, who had played so large a part in the recovery of lands from the English under Robert II., had been betrothed to Rothesay, but he refused to carry out the contract, and married a daughter of the Earl of Douglas. At the same time he was foolish enough to hesitate about acknowledging Henry IV. as the successor of Richard II., and Henry, in alliance with the Scottish Earl of March, invaded Scotland in the summer of 1400. The son of John of Gaunt seems to have inherited his father's kindness towards Scotland, and the invaders were unusually mild in their treatment of the country. Rothesay defended the Castle of Edinburgh, but Albany, though he was at the head of a Scottish army, made no effort to interfere with the progress of the English. Henry was summoned to suppress a Welsh revolt, and left Scotland about two weeks after he had crossed the Border. Rothesay soon quarrelled with the Douglases, Albany again became Guardian in 1401, and next year Rothesay died at Falkland. opportune moment of his death is the most serious ground for suspecting Albany of the murder which tradition has generally ascribed to him.

Albany continued the war with England, and the Scots suffered defeats of the normal type at Nesbit in June. 1402, and at Homildon Hill in September of the same year. The Scottish archers were outranged, their spearmen were broken up by the English arrows, and the battles became massacres. The alliance of the Percies, the victors of Homildon Hill, with the Douglas who had been in command of a portion of the Scottish army, led to the rebellion of the Percies against Henry IV. and the Battle of Shrewsbury, and active operations in Scotland came to an end for three years. Hostilities broke out again in 1405, and in the spring of the following year the English captured the heir to the Scottish throne. The old King, fearing that Prince James would share the fate of his elder brother, sent him to be educated in France, and his vessel was captured off Flamborough Head. The



FALKLAND PALACE, FIFESHIRE. Page 137.

It was built towards the end of the fifteenth century, and James V. died within its walls in 1542.



news broke his father's heart, and in April, 1406, Robert III. died.

Albany held the Regency till his death in 1420. Later generations have thought of him chiefly as the murderer of his nephew, but his contemporaries regarded him as wise, just, generous, and successful. He waged no great war with England, but in the intervals of truces he recovered Jedburgh (which had been held by the English for nearly eighty years), and he made terms with the renegade Earl of March, whose son won back from the English his heritage of Fast Castle, on St. Abbs Head. The enemy did not fail to retaliate, and the Scots did not always have the best of it. The "Foul Raid" of 1416, which failed to gain either Berwick or Roxburgh, detracted from Albany's military reputation, but he made substantial progress in the gradual recovery of Southern Scotland. He died just before a Scottish army fought on French soil the battle which ranks next to Bannockburn among Scottish victories. The invasion of France by Henry V. afforded a fresh opportunity for attacking England, and in 1421 the Scots defeated the English at the Battle of Baugé, and captured the Earl of Somerset.

The Regent's internal administration forms a memorable epoch in Scottish history, for it witnessed the first burning of a heretic, the foundation of the oldest University in Scotland, and the suppression of an unusually dangerous intrigue with England. James Resby, "an English priest of the school of John Wycliffe," was tried at Perth in 1406 or 1407 as a famous preacher of heretical doctrine. Two out of forty accusations against him are recorded by Bower. He had said that "the Pope is not necessarily the Vicar of Christ," and that "he is neither Pope nor the Vicar of Christ if he be not a holy man." The chronicler is more concerned to convince us of the enormity

of his offence than to tell us to what extent his doctrines had spread in the land, but he does say that at this time the tenets and the writings of Wycliffe were treasured by some Lollards in Scotland. His chronicle relates, in 1432, the death of another heretic, Paul Crawar, a Bohemian physician. Crawar was tried before the Judge who had condemned Resby, an inquisitor "who never allowed heretics in the kingdom to rest." Both men were burned to ashes. Each may have held the monstrous tenets which were associated with certain aspects of Lollardy, but protests against Roman doctrine made such distinct progress in the beginning of the fifteenth century that in 1425 Parliament had to legislate for their repression. The foundation of Universities was a more appropriate method of meeting the danger of heresy than appeals to the flames, and Henry Wardlaw, Bishop of St. Andrews, was probably influenced, like college founders in England, by a desire to secure an educated clergy capable of arguing with the heretics, when, between 1411 and 1414, he created the first Scottish University.

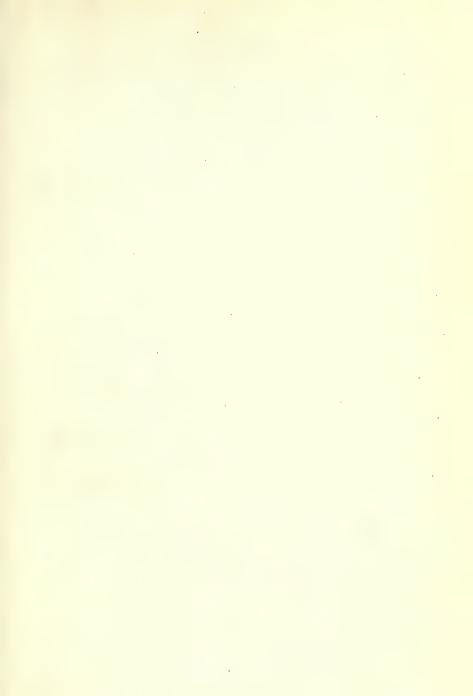
The Western Isles had passed from Norway to the Scottish Crown only in 1266, and they had never been subdued by a Scottish King. Islesmen had fought for Scotland in the War of Independence, but, like the Anglo-Norman Barons in other parts of the country, they had occasionally intrigued with the English against the weak government of the Bruce's successors. Albany had scarcely succeeded in bringing back the Earl of March to his natural allegiance when Donald of the Isles followed the evil example of the southern Barons. Donald has generally been regarded as the "assertor of Celtic nationality," and the leader of the last great Celtic reaction. His own dominions were more Scandinavian than Celtic; he himself was a grandson of Robert II., and

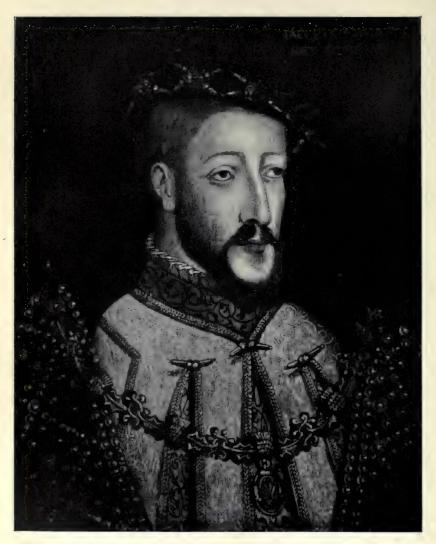
his quarrel with the Regent was about the earldom of Ross, which he claimed in the right of his wife, who was a member of a Lowland family. When he proffered his worthless allegiance to Henry IV. of England, and led an army to the mainland, he had to meet on the battlefield first the Mackays and then the Frasers. Conquering his Highland enemies, he marched to plunder the city of Aberdeen, and in July, 1411, was defeated at Harlaw by a force led by the Earl of Mar and the Provost of Aberdeen. It has been said that "the defeat of Donald of the Isles was felt as a more memorable deliverance even than that of Bannockburn," but the earlier Scottish historians give no evidence of any feeling of this kind. The struggle, as in the battle of the clans at Perth, was fierce and keen, and, sixty years later, the boys at the Grammar School of Haddington used, in mock fights, to re-enact the red Harlaw. But it was rather the ferocity of the battle than any sense of a great peril and a memorable deliverance that lived in the recollection of the nation. Of the two contemporary historians, one, the writer of the Book of Pluscarden, dismisses the event in a sentence; the other, Walter Bower, lays stress on the ravages of the Islesmen, and remarks that Donald hoped to spoil Aberdeen, and consequently to rule Scotland as far as the Tay. About a hundred years later, an Aberdeen historian, Hector Boece, wrote sympathetically about Donald's quarrel with Albany, and lamented that, instead of being satisfied with asserting his just claim to the earldom of Ross, he was tempted by the pillage of Aberdeen. The attempt of Donald of the Isles to avenge the injury done to him by the Regent, and to add to his possessions, is not in any way similar to the Celtic risings under the successors of Malcolm Canmore. Harlaw is rather, like Homildon Hill or Baugé, an incident in the eternal struggle with England, and the attitude of Donald of the Isles is similar to that of the Earl of March, or of many a later bearer of the Douglas name.

When Albany died in 1420, James I. was still a prisoner in the hands of the English, and the Regency was continued in the person of Albany's son, Murdoch, the second Duke, who had been captured at Homildon Hill, and had suffered a captivity of fourteen years. We know the history of his four years of Regency from chroniclers who admired the strong rule of his enemy, King James, but there can be little doubt that he was incapable, and that his sons were disturbers of the peace. After the death of Henry V., the English agreed to accept a ransom for the Scottish King, and James returned to Scotland in 1424, bringing home with him as his bride the lady of of the King's Quair, Joan Beaufort, daughter of the Earl of Somerset, who had been captured at Baugé, and a granddaughter of John of Gaunt. A poet and a musician, a lover of gardens, and a patron of art, James I. was also a man of action. His short powerful frame had nothing of the picturesque beauty attributed to his tall, handsome father and to his cousins of the House of Albany, but he was a great wrestler, a fearless horseman, a runner, and an archer. He came to Scotland determined to rule absolutely, and to rule well. Bower* says that on the day of his arrival tales of rapine and theft were brought to him, to illustrate the weakness of the Regent's govern-"With God's help," he said, "if He grant me life, if He grant me but the life of a dog, I will make the key keep the castle and the bracken bush the cow."

This vow he attempted to fulfil, but he had little statesmanship and no caution. He began by attacking the family of Albany, and one of the Regent's sons soon gave him, by a wild deed of violence, a pretext for their

^{*} Walter Bower, Abbot of Inchcolm, died 1449, supposed to be the continuator of the Scotichronicon.





KING JAMES V. (1513-1542). Page 138.

From the painting in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery.

destruction. In 1425, Albany and two of his sons were beheaded at Stirling, along with the Earl of Lennox, whose daughter Albany had married. Two years later, in a Parliament at Inverness. James imprisoned Alexander of the Isles, the son of the warrior of Harlaw, and forty minor chiefs. Alexander, on his release, raised a rebellion, and, after burning the town of Inverness, was defeated at Lochaber by the King in person. Before the high-altar at Holyrood, the Lord of the Isles, clad only in shirt and drawers, gave up his naked sword to the King of Scotland, and, though the Western Highlands were not yet pacified, Alexander took no further share in opposing the royal authority. In the Lowlands, James adopted the policy of annexing the great earldoms to the Crown, and, on pretexts which it is impossible to justify, he seized the lands of Strathearn, March, and Mar. These things were all done with the consent of the Parliament of Scotland. James had known England in the great days of Lancastrian constitutionalism, and his ideal was a strong monarchy based upon Parliamentary consent. He was not in any sense a "constitutionalist." The Scottish Parliament had never possessed any independent power, and was partly a judicial body and partly an instrument for recording the decisions of the Government. James had no intention of creating a power to rival his own, but he wished to strengthen the lower orders in the Estates, that they might support him against the Barons. The right of the lesser tenants-inchief to attend Parliament was freely admitted, but it was rarely exercised, and James attempted to compel them to send representatives, or "commissioners of the shires." He did not propose to extend the franchise as it had been extended in England, but merely to secure the presence of some of the lesser Barons, all of whom were, in theory, bound to attend. His legislation was

inoperative, and an attempt to create the office of a Speaker for the Commons was also fruitless. His efforts to lay the foundation of an effective and permanent constitutional system thus failed, but he was able to increase the importance of the Commons of his own Parliaments. for from the second year of his active reign until his death we find no trace of the General Committee, known as the Lords of the Articles, which, at almost every other period of Scottish history, from David II. to Charles II., monopolized the power of Parliament.

In his dealings with his Parliaments, James was almost uniformly successful, and they passed a large number of Acts, in many of which we can trace the influence of the King's English experience. They provided for national defence on the lines of English Assizes of Arms, and forbade football, which distracted attention from archery. They dealt with labour and commerce, and instituted a system of licensed beggars. They followed the precedents of the anti-Papal legislation of Edward III. and Richard II., and forbade the purchase of Scottish benefices at Rome. James instituted, with the sanction of the Estates, a Quo Warranto inquiry into baronial trespasses on the rights of the Crown. He appointed permanent Lords of Session to do the judicial work, which had hitherto been performed by temporary Parliamentary committees, and he tried to compel the hereditary Sheriffs to enforce the laws. Twice he persuaded the Estates to grant him a subsidy, such as Parliaments at Westminster granted to the Kings of England, and this taxation gave his enemies an excuse for denouncing him as a tyrant.

For nine years after his return there was peace with England, although on French soil Scotsmen aided the Maid at Pathay, and suffered in the Battle of the Herrings the fate of Scottish armies at Halidon and Homildon.

In 1428, James agreed to marry his eldest daughter, Margaret, to the Dauphin, the future Louis XI. In 1433 the English offered a treaty of perpetual peace, and the restoration of Roxburgh and Berwick; but the ancient league with France was not to be abandoned lightly, and the old Border warfare began again. In 1436 the English tried to capture the Princess Margaret on her way to France, and James avenged the insult by an unsuccessful siege of Roxburgh. "God knoweth how great weeping there was on both sides," said an eyewitness of the parting between James and his twelve-year-old daughter. The child was going to a strange land, where her life was to be brief, loveless, and unhappy. Her father did not live to learn her sorrows. By just rule and by arbitrary acts alike, he had roused many enemies, and in February, 1437, he fell a victim to a conspiracy, inspired by his uncle, the Earl of Athol, a son of Robert II. by his second wife. If Robert III. was an illegitimate son, Athol was the direct heir to the throne, and the chronicler of Pluscarden accuses "that old serpent of many evil days, the Earl of Athol," of advising the destruction, first of the Duke of Rothesay and then of Albany and his sons, in order to get rivals out of his way. Neither Bower nor the Pluscarden writer gives us a detailed account of the tragedy, and the traditional story is derived from a manuscript of uncertain origin. James spent the Christmas of 1436 in the Blackfriars monastery at Perth. where, on the night of February 20, 1437, he was attacked by a band of murderers. His Chamberlain, a grandson of Athol, was their accomplice, and had arranged for their entrance. The King, in his dressing-gown, was talking to the Queen and some of the ladies of the Court, when he heard suspicious sounds. Wrenching a plank from the floor, he escaped into an underground drain or closet, the opening of which he had himself closed up because it interfered with his tennis. The ladies replaced the plank, and the murderers burst into the room, breaking, according to tradition, the arm of Catherine Douglas, who was trying to supply the place of the bolt which had been treacherously removed from the door. They thought that their victim had eluded them, and the King, imagining the danger past, cried to the ladies to twist sheets together and pull him up. Hearing his voice, the ruffians tore open the floor, descended into the vault, and easily overcame the stout resistance of an unarmed man. Scotland had lost the greatest of her Stewart Kings.

A stern and cruel vengeance was taken upon the murderers of James I., and his son, a child of six, was crowned at Holyrood as James II. The widowed Queen -the first of a succession of four Scottish Queen-Mothers -found it no easy task to guard her son's throne. His ten years of manhood were to be chiefly occupied in the struggle with the House of Douglas, and if the Douglases had done their worst in the days of his childhood, the event might have been different. As it was, the minority of James II. proved a troubled time, but the rivals whose ambitions destroyed the peace of the country were not members of any great family. Sir Alexander Livingstone and Sir William Crichton, Keeper of the Castle of Edinburgh, struggled and intrigued for the charge of the person of the young King, agreed and differed again, and imprisoned the Queen-Mother and her second husband, Sir James Stewart. In 1440, in one of their periods of friendship, Livingstone and Crichton put to death the young Earl of Douglas and his brother. Boece tells how the Douglases were enticed to a banquet in Edinburgh Castle, at which there was placed on the table a bull's head—a recognized token of death—and how, despite the entreaties of the young King, the noble brothers

were taken out to die on the Castle Hill. The murderers were on friendly terms with the Earl's successor, his great-uncle, known as James the Gross, but he died in 1443, and his son William, Earl of Douglas, made a plot with Livingstone against Crichton, who allied himself with the only patriotic statesman of the time, the good Bishop Kennedy of St. Andrews, a cousin of the young King. The Bishop and Crichton had, on the whole, the worst of it, but the expiry of a truce with England, which had been made on the death of James I., diverted the attention of the Douglases, who, by burning Alnwick and Warkworth, and defeating the Percies at Lochmaben Stone, near Gretna, recovered something of the prestige of their great ancestor, the Lord James.

When, in 1449, James II, married Mary of Gueldres, and became responsible for the government of the country, the power of the House of Douglas seriously menaced the authority of the Crown. Earl William had, by a fortunate marriage, united the Douglas lands of Annandale with those of Galloway, and he was in alliance with the greatest baron of the north, the "Tiger" Earl of Crawford. James II.-James of the Fiery Face, as he was called, from a broad red mark on his cheek-was a strongwilled, hot-tempered soldier, who had inherited his father's interest in the art of war. A fighter by instinct, he loved to share with his men the perils and the joys of warfare: he went freely among them, and drank and conversed with them. Such a man was not likely to accept without a struggle the ignominious position in which the Crown was placed by the power enjoyed by the Earl of Douglas, his brothers, the Earls of Moray and Ormond, and his ally, the Earl of Crawford.

James began by destroying the Livingstones. They had served their turn, and Douglas was satisfied to see them fall and to receive some of the spoils. But in 1450,

when the Earl was on a magnificent pilgrimage to Rome, James entered the Douglas territory, and exacted from his tenants an oath of fealty. On his return, the Earl made no resistance, but he entered into a covenant, or bond, with Crawford and the Lord of the Isles. Outwardly, he was still on friendly terms with his Sovereign, and James, giving him a safe-conduct, invited him to Stirling. They supped together, and the King asked the Earl to break the bond with Crawford. He refused, and James lost his temper. "I perceive," he said, "my prayer can do nothing to cause you to desist from your wicked counsellors," and thrust him through the body with his sword. Between Stewart and Douglas there could thenceforth be no peace, and the Earl's successor, his brother James, within about a month of the murder, brought an armed force to Stirling, ravaged the country, and burned the town. A rebellion in the North, under Crawford, was suppressed by the Earl of Huntly; a Parliament at Edinburgh sanctioned all that the King had done; and a military expedition, in which there was more ravaging than fighting, reduced Douglas to what was apparently a complete submission.

James knew that the Earl was only waiting his opportunity. Immediately after his brother's death he had offered his allegiance to Henry VI., and since his submission he had supported the King's enemies. Major* tells an improbable story that James dreaded the coming conflict, and thought of leaving Scotland, and had to be spurred to nobler endeavour by the Bishop of St. Andrews. There is no indication of this in the course of action he followed. He sought the final conflict, made successive invasions of the Douglas lands in the spring of 1455, captured the castles and strongholds, defeated the Earls

^{*} John Mair or Major, 1469-1550, author of the History of Greater Britain.

of Ormond and Moray at Arkinholm (Langholm), and in the early summer destroyed the last refuge of the Douglases at Threave. An obedient Parliament attainted the Earls of Douglas, Moray, and Ormond. Douglas had fled to England, Moray had fallen at Arkinholm, and Ormond suffered as a traitor. Among the lesser families who rose to greatness on the ruin of the Douglases was a younger branch of the Douglas family, who, as Earls of Angus, were to play a notable part in Scottish history.

For the last five years of his reign James suffered little from domestic troubles, and he continued the legislative work of his father. The poor and oppressed flocked to his Parliaments-"widows, bairns, and infants seeking redress for their husbands, kindred and friends, that were cruelly slain by wicked bloody murderers." James and his Estates not only did them justice, but made an honest effort to prevent the recurrence of the crimes of which they complained. It was a grave calamity for Scotland that the King's life was cut short. The Yorkist party in England had espoused the Douglas cause, and a Yorkist force was defeated at Lochmaben in 1458. After the Yorkist victory at Northampton in 1460, James attempted to recover the Castle of Roxburgh, from which his father, in the last months of his life, had withdrawn after a fortnight's siege. Both Kings were deeply interested in the progress of artillery, which James II, had used to good effect against the Douglas castles. The English garrison at Roxburgh made a long and vigorous defence, and when the Earl of Huntly arrived with reinforcements for the besiegers. James decided to make a great effort to storm the castle. "But while this prince, mair curious nor became him or the majesty of a king, did stand near hand by the gunners when the artillery was discharging, his thigh bone was dung in twa with a piece of a mis-framed gun that brak in the shooting, by which he was stricken to the ground and died hastily thereof." Their King had fallen, but the Scots persevered in the task he had left unfinished. Boece tells that the Queen, with her son, James III., a boy of about ten years, came to the leaders of the army, and besought them to conceal the fact of the King's death, and to betray to the army no "sign of dreariness." Her speech is after the manner of Livy and Boece, but it expresses the spirit of the army which, in a few days, restored the Castle of Roxburgh to Scotland.

The minority of James III. is closely connected with the struggle between York and Lancaster. The Queen-Mother, under whose care the boy-King was at first allowed to remain, was a niece of Philip of Burgundy, and her personal sympathies were therefore likely to be Yorkist. In the winter which followed the King's death the Scots continued his Lancastrian policy by assisting Margaret of Anjou, but after this date her Burgundian relations brought pressure to bear on Mary of Gueldres, and thenceforth she aimed at reversing her husband's policy, which was supported by Bishop Kennedy. After the Battle of Towton (March, 1461), Henry VI. and Margaret fled to Scotland, bringing with them the surrender of Berwick, the only Scottish stronghold that had not been recovered from the English. With such a gift they could not be unwelcome guests: besides, Edward IV. was the enemy of France, and loyalty to the Red Rose meant the maintenance of the traditional Scottish policy. Edward retorted by maintaining the traditional policy of England, an intrigue with discontented Scottish Barons. The Earl of Douglas was an English exile, and Edward had little difficulty in arranging a conspiracy in which Douglas and the Lord of the Isles were united in opposition to the Crown. James II., by the murder of the late Earl, had put an end to the "band" between the Douglases and John of the Isles, and, though John had accepted the situation and come to terms with the King, he was quite ready to revive the alliance. In a formal treaty, negotiated by Douglas, John of the Isles became Edward's vassal, and for some time he used the royal style, and issued regal injunctions. It was certainly a dangerous moment for the Stewart dynasty. But Edward had no wish for a war with Scotland; Mary of Gueldres was using her influence for a peaceful settlement, and the course of events provided a way out of the difficulty. The House of Lancaster, despite some Scottish help, was decisively beaten, and Bishop Kennedy recognized the facts of the situation. In 1463 Edward made a truce with Louis XI., and it was customary for Scotland to be included in truces between England and France. Mary of Gueldres, who died in December, 1463, had the satisfaction of knowing that Bishop Kennedy was prepared to make peace with the King of England, and a short truce was arranged in the month of her death.

A Douglas invasion had been repelled by the Scots, and Edward sent the Earl to Ireland; his services might again be wanted. The Lord of the Isles played at sovereignty for other twelve years. The truce of 1463 was made into a more permanent peace in the following summer, and Scotland took no share in the brief Lancastrian restoration of 1470.

Kennedy died in 1465. He was a great statesman and a great Bishop, and Major attributes to him the prosperity and comparative peace which Scotland enjoyed in his days. No man, he says, ever deserved better of his country. For nearly four years after his death the young King was in the power of the family of Boyd, one of whom was created Earl of Arran, but a revolution

took place while Arran was absent negotiating the marriage of James III, to the Princess Margaret, daughter of Christian I, of Denmark and Norway. When, in July, 1469, Arran brought the bride to Leith, he had to flee for his life. James began his reign in fortunate circumstances. His marriage treaty not only put an end to the ancient claim of Norway to an annual payment for the Western Islands, but the Orkneys and the Shetlands were given in pledge for the payment of Margaret's dowry; they were never redeemed, and in 1472 Parliament declared their annexation to the Crown of Scotland.* The year which saw the formal annexation was also rendered memorable by the erection of St. Andrews into an archiepiscopal see, and the end of any English claim to ecclesiastical authority in Scotland. In 1476 John of the Isles was reduced to complete submission by a military expedition, led by the Earls of Argyle, Crawford, Athole, and Huntly; his Earldom of Ross was forfeited to the Crown; his title of Lord of the Isles was recognized; and, when next there was war with England, he supported the national cause.

James III., unlike his father and grandfather, was no soldier. He is said to have contemplated the conquest of Brittany when it was suggested to him by the astute Louis XI., but "he was one that loved solitariness, and desired never to hear of wars nor the fame thereof, but delighted mair in music and policy of building than in the government of his realm." Architects and musicians were his chosen friends, and nobles and people compared him unfavourably with his brothers, the Duke of Albany and the Earl of Mar. Albany was a lover of strong men and good horses, and himself a well-built

^{*} Successive Sovereigns of Denmark and Norway made, till the eighteenth century, efforts to obtain the restoration of the islands, whose inhabitants remained for centuries Norse in feeling and sympathy.

man, the possessor of large eyes and "a very awful countenance," which struck terror into his enemies. Mar was tall and handsome, an archer, a hunter, and a horse-breeder. Both brothers hated the King's low-born friends, who persuaded James that he was unsafe while Albany and Mar were at large. In 1479 both were arrested: Mar died a prisoner at Craigmillar, and Albany escaped from Edinburgh Castle, and took refuge in France. If the King had remained at peace with England, all might have gone well. But in 1480, under pressure from France, James sanctioned a border raid by the Earl of Angus, the head of the Red Douglases, who had risen on the ruins of the Black. Edward declined to accept an apology, sent a fleet in 1481 to the Firth of Forth, and continued hostilities, even when, in response to a Papal injunction, an agreement had been made to refrain from active warfare. The Lord of the Isles was no longer a possible ally, but Edward again made use of the fugitive Earl of Douglas, and, in 1482, made a treaty with Albany as "Alexander, King of Scotland." Albany was to conquer Scotland with English aid, and to rule as a vassal-King. Along with Richard, Duke of Gloucester, he marched to Berwick, where Gloucester captured first the town and then the castle.

One of the best-known stories of Scottish history belongs to this date. James was at Lauder, at the head of an army prepared to resist the invaders, and he was accompanied by his unpopular favourites, the chief of whom was the architect, Cochrane, who had been made Earl of Mar. The Earl of Angus (Archibald Bell-the-Cat) and others of the nobility, followed with a larger force, and they demanded the surrender of Cochrane and his friends. James refused; the favourites were seized and hanged on Lauder Bridge, and the King was sent to Edinburgh as a prisoner. An agreement was made with

Albany, who returned to his allegiance. He soon quarrelled with the nobles who held the King in ward, and James, by the help of his brother and the citizens of Edinburgh, escaped from the castle. Albany was rewarded with new titles, and was made Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, but the reconciliation was only temporary. James again became suspicions: Albany again intrigued with England. When the rupture became definite, in the spring of 1483, Edward IV. was dead, and Richard of Gloucester was too fully occupied in London to espouse Albany's cause. Along with the Earl of Douglas, Albany made an attempt on Scotland, and was defeated at Lochmaben in July. Douglas was captured, and died as a prisoner in 1488; Albany fled to France, where he was accidentally killed in 1485. For the rest of his reign James remained on friendly terms with Richard III. and with Henry VII.

The death of James III., like the seizure of Cochrane at Lauder Bridge, is familiar in the romantic story of Pitscottie. Untaught by adversity, he continued his association with unpopular favourites, and he treated his great nobles arbitrarily and unjustly. In 1488 the southern nobles conspired against him, and captured his heir, James, Duke of Rothesay. The northern nobility intervened on the King's behalf, but an attempt at compromise failed, and on June 11, 1488, James and his supporters met the confederate nobles at Sauchieburn. The King was defeated, and fled from the field. He was slain on the night of the battle, and Pitscottie's* narrative supplies details not necessarily false because they are picturesque. James, he says, fell off his horse at the door of the mill at Bannockburn, and was rescued by the miller and his wife, who were ignorant of his identity. The King, recovering from unconsciousness, asked for a

^{*} Robert Lindsay, of Pitscottie, born about 1500, died about 1565.

priest to hear his confession; and when his host inquired who he was, he replied: "I was your King this day at morn." The woman ran to the door, and cried: "A priest for the King!" A man who professed to be a priest came, and asked the King if he had any hope of recovery. James thought he might recover, but asked for the Sacraments. "The priest answered: 'That shall I do heartily," and pulled out a hanger, and gave him four or five strokes even to the heart."

The reign of James IV, is the Golden Age of medieval Scottish history. It began and ended with warfare, but it included a decade of peaceful development, and it was a time of strong and firm government and of great commercial progress. The young King soon humbled rebellious Barons who, either as partisans of his father or for other reasons, resisted his authority; he suppressed one rebellion raised against the aged John of the Isles by members of his own family, and another in which John was suspected of complicity; and he compelled John to surrender his Lordship of the Isles in 1493, and annexed the title to the Crown. A few years later, James paid repeated visits to the Hebrides, and attempted to destroy the power of the chiefs. His efforts led to resistance and rebellions, but James did not rest until he had reduced the Islesmen to obedience, and he committed the charge of the Southern Hebrides to the Earl of Argyll, and that of Inverness, Caithness, Ross, and the Northern Hebrides to the Earl of Huntly. From the beginning of the sixteenth century the rule of the Sovereign of Scotland may be said to have extended to the Western Islands, though much remained to be done before they were really part of an organized kingdom.

The peace with England was soon broken. Henry VII. and James IV. were alike interested in shipping and commerce, and James greatly increased the Scottish

navy. English and Scottish captains, engaged on piratical expeditions, had no scruples in fighting each other, even when their countries were nominally at peace, and in 1489, Sir Andrew Wood, with two ships, engaged and defeated five English vessels in the Firth of Forth. Henry sent Stephen Bull with three great warships to avenge the honour of the English navy, but Bull and his ships, after a running fight from St. Abb's Head to the Firth of Tay, were brought in triumph into the harbour of Dundee. Henry then made a treacherous arrangement with the Earl of Angus (a hero somewhat idealized in Marmion) for the seizure of James's person, but the plot came to nothing, and war did not break out till 1495, when James, in alliance with the Duchess of Burgundy and the Emperor Maximilian, supported the cause of the pretender, Perkin Warbeck, received him at his Court, and married him to a daughter of the Earl of Huntly. Next year he invaded England and ravaged the Borders, and after Warbeck left Scotland, in July, 1497, James attacked Norham Castle, and provoked a counter-invasion by the Earl of Surrey. The Peace of Aytoun (September, 1497) put an end to the war.

The great ambition of the Scottish King was to marry a Spanish Princess, and Ferdinand and Isabella, in order to detach him from Perkin Warbeck, encouraged him to hope for a marriage with one of their daughters. They had finally to apologize for having miscounted the number of their daughters, and to persuade James to marry the daughter of their ally, Henry VII. Pedro de Ayala, the Spanish Ambassador, who visited Scotland in 1498, sent home an interesting account of James and his people. He describes James as of middle height, handsome, and pious, and he credits him with a knowledge of Latin, French, German, Flemish, Italian, Spanish, and Gaelic—a statement which contrasts strangely with Buchanan's



"WILD SCOTS," FROM AN ENGRAVING BY ALBERT DÜRER IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM. From "The Days of James IV." (D. Nutt).

The inscriptions show that the figures are Irish, but in dress and equipment they represent equally well the Highlanders of the West. The figures to the right, by their weapons and dress, are shown to be of the poorer class.

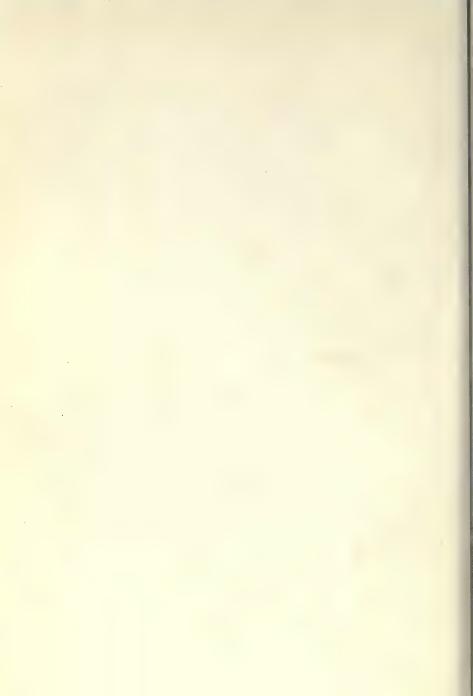
description of him as uneducated. He praises his personal courage, but adds that "he is not a good captain, because he begins to fight before he has given his orders." Like his people, James, he says, loves wars, but he maintains domestic peace, and executes the law without respect to rich or poor. Avala's mission was not immediately successful, for the Scots made another raid in 1498, and it was not till 1501 that James decided to accept the thrice-offered hand of the Princess Margaret. The treaty of marriage was intended to establish a "sincere, true. sound and firm peace, friendship, league, and confederation to last to all time coming," and it involved a recognition (the first since the Treaty of Northampton) of the King of Scots as an independent Sovereign. The marriage took place at Holyrood in August, 1503, and the poet Dunbar, who had visited London and admired the swans on the clear waters of the Thames, celebrated it in "The Union of the Thistle and the Rose." During the rest of the life of Henry VII. peace was preserved, not without difficulty, and in spite of continued Border raids.

In his account of the people of Scotland in the days of James IV., the Spanish Ambassador remarks that "Scotland has improved so much in his reign that it is worth three times more now than formerly." When Ayala wrote, James had been on the throne for only ten years, and the prosperity he witnessed cannot be reasonably ascribed to the work of a decade. Since the return of James I. large portions of the country had been permanently under a strong Government. The Parliaments of Scotland, while, for the purposes of high politics, they were the tools of the King or the ruling factions of nobles, never ceased to attend to the necessities of commerce, justice, and police, and, if their legislation shows that property sometimes needed protection, it also proves that there was something to protect, and this inference



CARDINAL DAVID BEATON, ARCHBISHOP OF ST. ANDREWS AND CHANCELLOR OF SCOTLAND. Page 142.

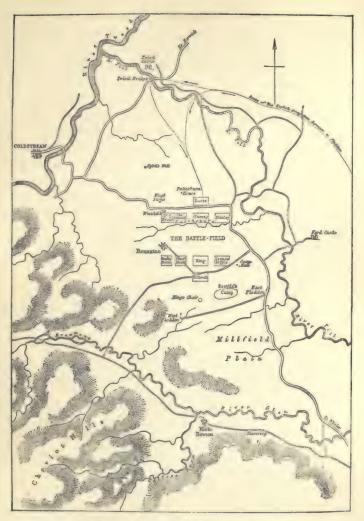
Born 1494, murdered in his castle of St. Andrews 1546. From the portrait at St. Mary's College, Blairs, Aberdeen.



is confirmed by a study of the Exchequer Rolls. The merchants of Scotland were rich enough to be luxurious, and the use of costly silks and furs had to be restricted by law under James II. and again under James III. The creation of a navy by Bishop Kennedy and James IV. is a further token of the wealth of the nation, and the records of Scottish commercial relations with the Netherlands indicate that the Scots exported wool, hides, fish, cloth, and pearls in quantities large enough to pay for luxuries like silk and velvet, wine, and jewels. English observers remarked the rich dresses of the Scots, and Ayala admired their houses, "all built of hewn stone, and provided with excellent doors, glass windows, and a great number of chimneys. All the furniture that is used in Italy, Spain, and France is to be found in their dwellings. It has not been bought in modern times only, but inherited from preceding ages." The munificence of Bishop Kennedy, the founder of St. Salvator's College at St. Andrews, and of Bishop Elphinstone, who, in 1495, founded the University of Aberdeen, is additional proof of national wealth, and the list of early benefactors to Elphinstone's foundation shows that for humbler people the tenure of property was secure and the conditions of life were comfortable. Aberdeen was the third Scottish University, for a Bishop of Glasgow had established a University in his cathedral town in 1451, and Scotland shared fully in the rich intellectual life of the time. The fifteenth century produced a long succession of Scottish poets, among whom James I., Robert Henryson, William Dunbar, and Gavin Douglas are the greatest names. John Mair, or Major, wrote a history which contains something of the purpose of a statesman, and Hector Boece, the first Principal of the University of Aberdeen, and Alexander Stewart, the youthful Archbishop of St. Andrews, an illegitimate son of James IV., were the friends of Erasmus and the patrons of the New Learning. James encouraged the invention of printing, which was introduced into Scotland in 1507; he gave a charter to the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh, and a famous Act of one of his early Parliaments ordered that all Barons and freeholders should "put their eldest sons and heirs to the schools . . . to remain at the grammar schools till . . . they have perfect Latin . . . and thereafter to remain three years at the schools of Arts and Law [i.e. the Universities] that they may have knowledge and

understanding of the laws."

The glorious reign of James IV., with its promise and its fruition, was doomed to come "quick to confusion." When Henry VIII. succeeded to the English throne, and entered into a league against France, the Anglo-Scottish alliance was placed in grave peril. James and Henry had other causes of quarrel. There was a dispute about jewels left to Queen Margaret by her father. The Borders were again disturbed, and sea-fights again broke the national peace. James was willing to "pardon all the damage done to us and our kingdom" if Henry would only "maintain the universal concord of the Church." He appealed to the Pope, the inspirer of the "Holy League" which broke the peace of Europe, and he tried to form a counter-league of Scotland, France, and Denmark. France was not in such extreme danger as James supposed, but he determined to be its saviour. aged Bishop Elphinstone, a saint and a statesman, tried in vain to persuade him of the folly of intervention; the tradition of centuries was behind the King, and the voices of the younger Barons were, as ever, for war. In August, 1513, James led his army "the ill road" across the Border. The whole nation-Lowlanders, Highlanders, and Islesmen-rallied to his banner, which was raised on Flodden Edge. The English, under the Earl of Surrey,



PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF FLODDEN FIELD.
Showing the route of the English army from Barmoor to Flodden.

outmanœuvred him, crossed the Till, cut off the Scottish army from Scotland, recrossed, and marched southwards upon Flodden. James was unnecessarily alarmed, for he was well-provisioned and Surrey had given a formal challenge which compelled him to fight immediately. The Scottish King abandoned his position of vantage on Flodden Edge, and rushed upon the English. The enemy had the advantage in archery and in artillery, and the Scots were compelled to come at once to close quarters. The Scottish right, under Lennox and Argyll, was driven back, and the Borderers, who broke through the English right, devoted themselves to plunder. The battle raged long in the centre, where Surrey and his son met James and Crawford and Montrose. In the end the Scots formed themselves into a ring of spearmen, and the English, with arrows and bills, maintained their fierce attack.

"But yet, though thick the shafts as snow,
Though charging knights as whirlwinds go,
Though bill-men ply the ghastly blow,
Unbroken was the ring;
The stubborn spearmen still made good
Their dark, impenetrable wood,
Each stepping where his comrade stood
The instant that he fell.
No thought was there of dastard flight;
Linked in the serried phalanx tight,
Groom fought like noble, squire like knight,
As fearlessly and well;
Till utter darkness closed her wing
O'er their thin host and wounded king."

CHAPTER VI

THE REFORMATION

FLODDEN was not less decisive a victory than Bannock-The King was slain, and there is scarcely a Scottish family record but tells of some ancestor who died with his King. But, unlike Bannockburn, the Battle of Flodden is no turning-point in Scottish history. It did not even render impossible an English alliance, for, though a desultory warfare continued till 1515, the Queen-Mother was an Englishwoman, and she married, in 1514, the Earl of Angus, grandson of Archibald Bell-the-Cat, and a traitor like his grandfather. The supporters of the French party brought to Scotland a cousin of the late King, the Duke of Albany, a son of the Duke who had played so prominent a part in the reign of James III. Albany was a French nobleman who spoke no language but French; he was "marvellous wilful" and quite unfitted to rule. The failure of English policy in Scotland was due not to him, but to Queen Margaret, a true sister of Henry VIII. When Albany became Regent, in 1515, Margaret and Angus fled to England, where she bore a daughter who was to become the mother of the ill-fated Darnley. Angus made terms with the Regent, who went to France for four years, leaving almost free scope to the English faction. Margaret returned to Scotland, quarrelled with Angus, announced her intention of divorcing him, and was warned by Henry that, alike by the laws

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of God and man, she was bound to stick to her husband. Henceforth she set herself to ruin the English cause. She intrigued with her husband's bitterest foe, the Earl of Arran, who, as a son of the Princess Mary, sister of James III., was, after Albany, heir-presumptive to the throne. She sent "tender letters" to France, urging the return of Albany, and when he came in 1521 Angus had to leave Scotland. Henry was successful in preventing a marriage with Albany, during whose temporary absence Margaret was persuaded to assist an English invasion of Scotland, but the English King was not safe until Albany finally left Scotland in 1524. Margaret and Arran ruled for a short time in the English interest, but the return of Angus drove her to a reconciliation with Archbishop Beaton, the leader of the French party. Angus assumed the Government, and made a truce with England, and Margaret, whose marriage was at last annulled, wedded, in 1526, Henry Lord Methven, her divorce from whom gave some trouble ten years later. The young King, James V., resented the conduct of Angus, and in 1528 brought about his downfall by escaping from his tutelage. For some time he was under the influence of his mother and her youthful husband, but he was now sixteen years of age, and the period of his personal rule begins about 1530.

James stood at the parting of the ways. In 1533, his uncle, Henry of England, married Anne Boleyn, and broke finally with Rome. In 1535 Henry urged his nephew to follow his example, and offered as an inducement to Protestantism the hand of the Princess who was afterwards to be known as "Bloody Mary." He suggested that, if James would only obey the Spirit of God, he would be enriched by the spoils of the monasteries. James thought the suggestion blasphemous, and he was not the man to be tempted in this way. There

were, indeed, other reasons which might have commended a Reformation to the King of Scotland. The Church in Scotland stood in great need of reform, in much greater need than did the Church of England. Many of its Bishops and clergy were men of evil lives, and they had brought religion into neglect and contempt. The Lollard protest against Roman authority had survived throughout the fifteenth century. In 1471 an Archbishop of St. Andrews had been deposed for heresy; in 1494 thirty Lollards from Kyle were accused by the Archbishop of Glasgow* in the presence of James IV., whose heart was "inclined to gentleness." "Wilt thou burn thy bill [writings]?" he asked their spokesman, and received the reply, "Sir, the Bishop, an [if] ye will." The retort amused the young King, and Lollardy continued to thrive in Ayrshire. In 1525 the new Lutheran doctrine had already gained so much ground in Scotland that the Parliament of that year passed an Act that no passenger in any ship should bring "any books or works of the great heretic Luther" or "rehearse his heresies" in the realm, and in 1528, with the burning of Patrick Hamilton at St. Andrews, the Scottish Reformation struggle had commenced.

The Kings of Scotland had never been blind to the faults of the Church. The first James had warned the Benedictines against their besetting sin of indolence, and the fifth, himself no Puritan, was well aware of the vices of the clergy, and, both in public and in private, insisted upon the necessity of reform. But neither his personal sympathies nor the circumstances in which he was placed were likely to lead him to follow the example of Henry VIII. He had good reason for distrusting his uncle, and he desired to remain loyal to the ancient French alliance. His struggle with Angus and the House

^{*} Glasgow was made an Archbishopric in 1492.

of Douglas had embittered his relations with his nobles at the beginning of his reign, and, as time went on, he relied on the support of the clergy. His attempt in 1530 to reduce the Borders to order—in the course of which he hanged Johnnie Armstrong—alienated the Border chiefs. In carrying on his father's policy in the Western Islands, he quarrelled with, and imprisoned, the Earl of Argyll. To incur simultaneously the enmity of the nobility and the clergy was a piece of unwisdom of which his descendant, Charles I., was guilty. James decided "to hold by God and Holy Kirk."

In 1536 James arranged to marry a daughter of the Duc de Vendôme, and visited France for the purpose. When he met the lady, he changed his mind, and married the Princess Madeleine, daughter of Francis I. She was in bad health, and, two months after he landed with his bride at Leith, James was a widower (July, 1537). Henry VIII. had just buried Jane Seymour, and uncle and nephew found themselves rivals for the hand of Mary of Guise, widow of the Duc de Longueville. The lady preferred her younger suitor, and James married her in the summer of 1538. By two successive French marriages, James had definitely declined the path marked out for him by Henry. He continued his arbitrary treatment of the nobility, and was guided by the advice of Cardinal Beaton, who, in 1539, succeeded his uncle in the See of St. Andrews. Patrick Hamilton had been followed to the stake by other martyrs, and "the reek [smoke] infected as many as it blew upon." When Cardinal Beaton became the King's chief adviser, the number of sufferers increased, but it was at no time large, and Scotland never knew anything like the deluge of blood which England was to witness under Mary Tudor.

Henry VIII. never lacked the quality of persistence, and in spite of the Scottish King's domestic policy and

his alliance with the Guises, he did not give up hope of bending his nephew to his will. He tried to alienate James from Beaton, and he made various attempts to induce him to consent to a personal meeting. James was wise in refusing such a conference, for Henry was scheming to kidnap him. The English King could never realize the state of mind of a monarch who declined to rob the Church, and he returned to this form of spiritual argument. The Scottish Kings, although they possessed large tracts of land, were not rich, for, except for customs duties and feudal revenues, there was no regular taxation. An attempt to introduce subsidies had caused great discontent under James I., and one of the causes of the fall of James III. was his debasement of the coinage. When James V. proved blind to the providence which put money within his grasp, and was obdurate in refusing to give his uncle a chance of seizing his person, Henry revived the ancient claim of homage, formed a plan for kidnapping James in his own country, and sent the Earl of Angus to invade Scotland. The Earl of Huntly defeated an English force at Haddonrig, and the Duke of Norfolk ravaged the county of Roxburgh. Francis I. had helped to persuade James not to go to York, whither Henry had journeyed to meet him in 1541, and the Scottish nobility had thus an excuse for refusing their King the support he demanded. It was, they said, a French quarrel. Beaton and the ecclesiastical party furnished James with an army, which he led in November to Lochmaben, but did not accompany to meet the enemy. The Scottish force was enclosed between the Solway Moss and the River Esk, and completely routed, and James, a stricken man, returned to Falkland. His two sons by Mary of Guise had died in the preceding year, and as James lay at Falkland on December 8, 1542, "the post came out of Linlithgow, showing to the King good tidings

that the Queen was delivered. The King inquired whether it was man or woman. The messenger said it was a fair daughter. The King answered and said, 'Adieu, farewell, it come with a lass, it will pass with a lass,' and so he recommended himself to the mercy of Almighty God, and spake little then from that time forth, but turned his back unto his lords and his face into the wall." Six days later, "he turned him back and looked and beheld all his lords about him, and gave a little smile and laughter, then kissed his hand and offered the same to all his lords round about him, and thereafter held up his hands to God and yielded the spirit."

James V. had the charm and the ability of his race, but he did not inherit the energy of his father or of James I., and he succumbed to a crisis which they would have been capable of meeting. He is best remembered by his settlement of the Isles, and by his zeal for justice. He was known as the "Commons' King," he was interested in his people and their needs, and his love of justice as well as his spirit of adventure led him to wander incognito among the lower classes of his subjects. judicial arrangements made by James I. had been supplemented by James II. and by James IV., and the Scottish judicial system received its permanent form from James V. In 1532 he proposed to institute "a college of cunning and wise men both of spiritual and temporal estate . . . to sit and decide upon all actions civil." The College of Justice was accordingly formed, and it superseded the Lords Auditors or Committee of the Estates to which judicial powers had been entrusted in the fourteenth century, and to which James I. had given a more permanent form. The Secret or Privy Council retained its old judicial powers, and the Justiciar continued to be responsible for criminal jurisdiction until, in 1587, James VI. founded the High Court of Justiciary. It was in keeping both with the general history of Scottish institutions since Bannockburn, and with the policy of the King who founded it, that the Scottish College of Justice followed a French and not an English model.

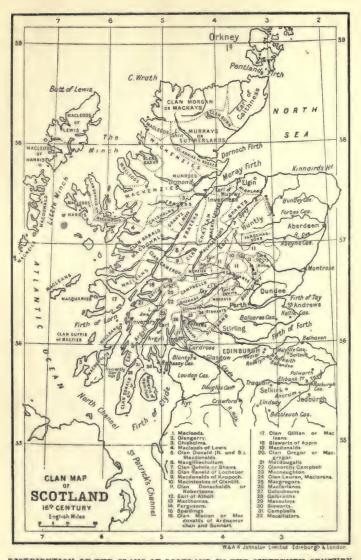
The Court of Session was the last gift of France to Scotland. The rapid growth of Protestantism was already dooming the French alliance, and the death of James V. filled the Reformers with hope, and rallied to their cause the greedy Barons, who were prepared to welcome an attack on Church property during a royal minority. The folly and cruelty of Henry VIII. added a tragic chapter to the history of Franco-Scottish relations, but it could not be more than an epilogue. Religion had succeeded to nationality as the chief interest of the time, the English party were no longer outlawed traitors, but leaders of the people; for the next century and a half, religious controversy was to be the strongest force in the making of the nation.

On the death of King James, the English King returned to his favourite device of kidnapping, and he arranged with the prisoners of Solway Moss to seize the persons of the Queen-Mother, Cardinal Beaton, and the Earl of Arran,* who, in December, 1542, became Regent. The prisoners, on their return, proved false to Henry and falsely true to Scotland. There was no kidnapping, nor any attack upon the Church beyond a memorable Act which permitted the circulation of "haly write, baith the new testament and the auld in the vulgar toung." Henry proposed a marriage between his son Edward and the little Queen Mary, and the Scots agreed, but compelled Henry to modify his terms so as to secure the independence of Scotland. They would trust him with no strongholds; there must be no union of the kingdoms;

^{*} Son of the Earl of Arran, who was a prominent personage in the minority of James V.

and, should there be no child of the marriage, the natural heirs were to succeed to the Scottish throne. Henry was not satisfied with the terms, and it was soon evident that the two countries were drifting into war. Arran, distrusting Henry, made an alliance with Cardinal Beaton and the Queen-Mother, and when, in the end of 1543, the English attacked some Scottish ships, the Regent declared the treaty annulled. The Earl of Hertford was sent to Scotland by sea, with instructions to lay on and spare not, "putting man, woman, and child to fire and sword without exception where any resistance shall be made against you." In 1544 he took Leith, burned Edinburgh, and ravaged the Lothians. There was, as usual, a Scottish traitor, the Earl of Lennox, who, like Arran, was descended from a sister of James III., and stood after the family of Arran in the succession to the throne. Failing to betray the Castle of Dumbarton to the English, he fled to London, where he married Henry's niece, the daughter of Margaret and Angus. The Douglases were also engaged in an intrigue with Henry, but fortune did not favour them, and when the English desecrated the sepulchre of the Douglas family at Melrose, they joined the Regent, and, in February, 1545, defeated an English force at Ancrum Moor. Later in the year, when Hertford made his second invasion, the Douglases reverted to their wonted attitude of treachery.

The "English Wooing" had put Henry's marriage scheme out of the question, but the policy of the Regent was gravely hampered by the religious quarrel which was dividing the kingdom. Cardinal Beaton, to whose skill and patriotism the national cause had owed much in the crisis which followed the King's death, now put his work in jeopardy by enforcing the heresy laws, which had been re-enacted in 1543. On March 1, 1546, George Wishart was hanged and his body was burned outside the episcopal



DISTRIBUTION OF THE CLANS OF SCOTLAND IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

Castle of St. Andrews. On May 29, the Protestants took their revenge by seizing the castle and murdering the Cardinal. Their deed had the approval of John Knox, though there is no evidence to connect him with the plot; he joined the garrison ten months later, was present when the Regent retook the castle, with French help, in July, 1547, and with the rest of the defenders, was sent to France as a galley-slave. The death of Henry VIII. in January of the same year had placed the Earl of Hertford (Protector Somerset) in power in England. Somerset had been the ruler of England at the death of James V., the course of events might have been different; but the last five years had rendered impossible a union with England, however wisely conceived. The Scots would not ally with England, and Somerset was determined to prevent them from allying with France. His efforts were fruitless, though he gained some military reputation by his third invasion of Scotland in the summer of 1547, and by his decisive victory at Pinkie in September, memorable as the last battle between Scots and English. His invasion and his victory were marked by the usual barbarous ferocity, and when he left the country the Regent at once entered into negotiations for a marriage treaty between Queen Mary and the Dauphin, the eldest son of Henry II. and Catherine de Medici. In August, 1548, the child was sent to France, which she reached in safety, in spite of English efforts to capture her vessel. The Scots, with French assistance, persevered in the recovery of strongholds which had been seized by the English, and they were included in the peace of 1550 between France and England.

Scots and French never agreed, and when Mary of Guise succeeded Arran as Regent in 1554, her nationality and her religion combined to render her task impossible. The accession of Mary Tudor to the English throne deprived the Scottish Protestants of English assistance, but the return of Knox to Scotland in 1555 gave the Regent a more redoubtable opponent than any monarch of England. The circulation of the Bible, encouraged by the English invaders, who are said to have brought cartloads of Bibles to Scotland, had greatly increased the adherents of the Reformed Faith, and when Knox became their leader, the Protestants felt the inspiration of a great and noble personality. "The voice of one man," wrote an English Ambassador some years later, "is able in one hour to put more life in us than five hundred trumpets continually blustering." In 1557 the Protestant party formed themselves into "the Congregation of the Lord" and signed a National Covenant, or band for the destruction of the Synagogue of Satan, as they termed Roman Catholicism. The marriage of Mary to the Dauphin in 1558, the acceptance of her French husband as King Francis of Scotland, the suspicion (not unfounded) of a danger to Scottish independence from the agreements signed by the girl-Queen on her marriage—all combined to inspire the militant forces of Protestantism. The death of Mary Tudor and the succession of Elizabeth gave the Protestant party some promise of English help. The Queen-Regent, whose gracious tolerance had hitherto preserved the peace, denounced the leaders of the Reformers as heretics, and their reply came in the sermons which inspired the destruction of the religious houses which were the glory of the Fair City of Perth. Alarmed by the outbreak, Mary of Guise promised to take no vengeance, and to send no French garrison. She kept her word, and garrisoned Perth with Scottish soldiers, but so vehement was the dislike of the French that her arrival at Perth with a French bodyguard in attendance on her person was represented as a breach of her promise, and her opponents did not fail to use the advantage thus gained. The destruction of religious buildings continued, and, while negotiations were in progress both between the rebels and the Regent and between the rebels and Elizabeth, Francis and Mary succeeded to the throne of France. If anything was to be done, it must therefore be done at once, and, in October, 1559, the Scottish Protestants announced the deposition of the Regent. With the help of an English fleet, they besieged Leith, while the Queen-Mother took refuge in Edinburgh Castle. The attack on Leith met with little success, but Mary of Guise was stricken with a mortal illness, and a truce was made. Both sides were to dismiss their foreign allies, and the English agreed to go, on condition that Francis and Mary should renounce Mary's claim to the Crown of England, which Henry II. had advanced at the time of Elizabeth's accession. On June 11, 1560, the Queen-Mother died, reconciled to her rebel lords, and beseeching them, above all else, to remember the honour of their country.

The Government was now in the hands of the Lords of the Congregation. In August they summoned a Parliament, in which the smaller Barons asserted their right to be present. It was admitted, and the strength of the Protestant party was greatly increased. The Protestant preachers invited the Estates to establish the Reformed Faith, and were instructed to produce a summary of the doctrine which they regarded as "wholesome and true." Within four days Knox and his colleagues presented the Confession of Faith, which governed the Church of Scotland for nearly a century. It was received and accepted, and saying or hearing Mass was forbidden under severe penalties: confiscation and imprisonment for the first offence, exile for the second, and death for the third. In point of fact, the extreme penalty was inflicted only once, when the bitterness of religious feeling





MARY OF GUISE (OR LORRAINE), QUEEN OF JAMES V., AND MOTHER OF MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS. Page 144.

Married 1538, died in Edinburgh Castle 1560.

From the painting in the possession of the Corporation of Edinburgh.

had been increased by the news of the massacre of St. Bartholomew; but the cruel, repressive measures directed against Roman Catholics for two centuries are a dark stain on the history of Protestant Scotland.

The Parliament of 1560, though its Acts never received royal sanction, was a turning-point in Scottish history, and it is important to realize what had actually happened. A Parliament, illegally summoned, had changed the religion of the country, and had substituted one series of dogmas for another. Of liberty or toleration no one thought. Knox found one Mass less tolerable than "if ten thousand armed enemies were landed in any part of the realm of purpose to suppress the whole religion." His account of the murder of Beaton was written "merrily," and he had as little hesitation in declaring that the "idolater" should die the death as his opponents had in condemning a heretic to the stake. The individual conscience, released from the laws of the Pope, was henceforth to be bound by the laws of the realm, and Papal jurisdiction was to be succeeded by the not less formidable courts of the Reformed Church. The new clergy made claims as dangerous to civil and religious liberty as the old. They believed themselves to possess the power of loosing and of binding. They excommunicated with the sentence, "And this his sin we bind, and pronounce the same to be bound in heaven and earth," and they gave over the sinner "in the hands and power of the devil," threatening with a similar penalty "all such men as before his repentance shall haunt or familiarly accompany him." The Parliament, long a tool in the hands of the King, was soon to become a tool in the hands of the Church, and the General Assembly of the Church soon came to exercise the influence which ought to have belonged to the Parliament. The principles and aspirations which might have given life to the Estates found a more suitable home in the meetings of ministers and laymen, who formed the Courts of the Church. It was the General Assembly that rendered possible the existence of public opinion in Scotland, and it must not be forgotten that the public opinion of Scotland was, on the whole, with the Assembly, and that the cast-iron formulas which the ministers sought to enforce represented the results which a majority of the people had freely accepted.

There was, of course, a minority which must suffer. "We will believe as our fathers believed," a few of the Lords Temporal had told the Parliament which refused to allow them to retain their faith. In that minority was the Queen. Francis II. died in December, 1560, and his widow, never on good terms with her mother-inlaw, Catherine de Medici, soon decided to return to Scotland. She had not confirmed the Treaty of Edinburgh, in which were embodied the terms of the truce with England, made at the time of her mother's death, and Elizabeth threatened to capture her on her voyage. Mary was fully conscious of the difficulty of the task before her, and she told Elizabeth's Ambassador that if she should fall into Elizabeth's hands, "she may then do her pleasure and make sacrifice of me. Peradventure that casualty might be better for me than to live." a thick mist in the early morning of August 19, 1561, Mary landed in safety at Leith. On the following Sunday her chaplain was threatened with death, and Knox afterwards regretted that he did not have the courage, as he had the power, to "put in execution God's judgments," and to do what in him lay "to have suppressed that idol in the beginning."

Before Mary's arrival, her throne had been in some jeopardy, for the Lords of the Congregation had suggested that Elizabeth should marry the Earl of Arran,* and reign over the two countries. Elizabeth did not wish to marry an imbecile; she knew that Knox and the Congregation would make worse subjects than allies, and she



JOHN KNOX.
From the portrait in Beza's Icones.

had no desire to provoke an immediate rupture with Spain. To seize the Scottish throne would have only created new difficulties for her. The marriage of Mary

^{*} Son of the ex-Regent. His father used the French title of Duke of Chatelherault which had been conferred on him by Henry II.

to a member of the Austro-Spanish House would have been much more dangerous to the English Queen than the marriage with Francis II. ever was, and it was against this danger that she was chiefly concerned to provide. Mary's position, as heir-presumptive to the throne of England, afforded the best argument for maintaining peace with her English cousin. "I am younger than your mistress," was one of her remarks, made to Elizabeth's agents in France, and duly repeated to irritate the English Queen. She was not quite ten years younger, but she counted confidently on the succession, and made it the guiding line of her foreign policy. Elizabeth knew that she would not make a Spanish marriage, and she was content to wait and to work for Mary's downfall in Scotland.

At one period in her reign Mary may have dreamed of the restoration of Roman Catholicism, but of this there was never any real chance. The Scottish nobles had been seizing the Church lands, and most of them were the paid servants of Elizabeth. They had no intention of losing either their lands or their pensions; yielding to the clergy on all points of doctrine, they had proved obdurate to any appeal to share with the new Church the spoils of the old, and they were not likely to grant to Mary Stewart what they had denied to John Knox. At the beginning of her reign the Queen had no alternative but to rely on the advice of the Protestant Lords, the leader of whom was her illegitimate brother, the Lord James Stewart, whom she made Earl of Murray. He was clever enough to obtain Mary's acquiescence in the suppression of the most powerful Catholic noble in Scotland, the Earl of Huntly. The forfeiture of Huntly greatly weakened the Catholic party, and Elizabeth seized the opportunity of spreading a rumour in Spain that the Scottish Queen was "no more devout towards

Rome than for the contentation of her uncles." Those uncles, immersed in the wars of religion in France, could give her no help, and Mary came to depend more and more on Murray and the Protestants. Tempted by a suggestion of recognition as the heiress of England, she promised to take Elizabeth's advice about her marriage. The English Queen adopted her favourite device of procrastination, made suggestions and withdrew them, and insulted her high-spirited cousin by proposing that she should marry her own favourite, Leicester. The "new-made Earl" apologized for his presumption, and Elizabeth had certainly no intention of letting him go to Scotland, but she encouraged the Earl of Lennox (the traitor of Mary's minority) to return with his son, Lord Darnley, a handsome youth, who stood near the succession to the Crowns of both countries.

On July 29, 1565, Mary was married to Darnley. Elizabeth chose to take offence, and Murray raised a rebellion. The people rallied to the Queen, and her half-brother fled to England, to be scolded and protected by Elizabeth, who was an accomplice in his rising, and who soon wrote to Mary in his behalf. His return was to be brought about by other means. Darnley proved to be a vicious fool, possessed of a fool's ambition, and Mary declined to gratify him by conferring on him the Crown Matrimonial which would have placed him in a stronger position than that of a King-Consort, for in the event of Mary's death the Crown would have passed to Darnley and his heirs. The Queen's confidential secretary, an Italian named David Rizzio, was known to have advised her to refuse the Crown Matrimonial, though he had originally favoured the Darnley marriage. Darnley decided to murder Rizzio, and for this purpose entered into a conspiracy with Murray and his friends. Mary was to be imprisoned. Darnley was to reign, Murray was

to return. The measure of Darnley's folly is his delusion that the men who hated and despised him, who had taken up arms against him, and who professed to regard his marriage with the Queen as a grave danger to their religion, would ever permit him to govern Scotland. The measure of his selfish brutality may be found in the details of the plot. Rizzio, who could easily have been dealt with elsewhere, was murdered in the presence of Mary, then far advanced in pregnancy. The ghastly story, with all its dramatic detail, is too familiar to require repetition, but it is important to remember that, though Rizzio was slain, the plot failed. Murray appeared at Holyrood the morning after the murder, and received the forgiveness of his sister, who was credulous enough to believe that his presence would have been a protection to her. Two of the aims of the conspirators had been fulfilled, but they were balked in their main purpose, the imprisonment of Mary. The Queen had an interview with Darnley, persuaded him that he had nothing to expect from his accomplices, and on the night of March 11, 1566, forty-eight hours after the murder, husband and wife crept stealthily through the Chapel of Holyrood, effected their escape, and fled to Dunbar. Mary had a second time triumphed.

Darnley disavowed his share in the conspiracy, and demanded the punishment of the murderers, who fled to England. Elizabeth, who had known of the plot, sent them money, and told Mary falsehoods, which she probably did not expect to be believed. If Mary could have kept her hold over Darnley, the safety of the Reformed Church might yet have been imperilled, but the birth of their son James, in June, brought about only a partial reconciliation between his unhappy parents. Darnley's shameful treatment of his wife led the nobles, in November, 1566, to propose to Mary that she should obtain a

divorce. The Queen feared that a divorce might prejudice the rights of her son, and her Secretary, Maitland of Lethington, told her that the nobles would "find the means that your Majesty shall be quit of him." Darnley had a blood-feud with men who did not forgive, and his end was assured. The accomplices whom he had betrayed and whom his treachery had sent into exile would not fail to take vengeance. In the end of the year they were permitted to return, and Darnley's death was not likely to be long delayed.

The Earl of Morton, one of the exiles, had a meeting, immediately after his return, with the Earl of Bothwell, who suggested to him the murder of Darnley, and told him that he had the Queen's approval. The enemies of Darnley were also the enemies of Mary, and they had found an easy tool for the destruction of both. Alarmed by the return of the Rizzio murderers, Darnley had taken refuge with his father. He fell ill; Mary went to him at Glasgow, nursed him, and brought him back, not to Holyrood, but to Kirk of Field, a house on the outskirts of Edinburgh. On the night of February 10, 1567, the miserable boy, not yet twenty-one years of age, was strangled, and his murderers, by blowing up the house with gunpowder, made certain that the world should be deceived by no story told to explain his death. Bothwell was generally believed to be guilty of the crime; he was tried and acquitted, and a Parliament set its seal upon his acquittal. Morton and others of the nobility signed a bond recommending his marriage with the Queen, and, on April 24, as she was travelling from Linlithgow to Edinburgh, he seized her person. On May 15 the Queen married Bothwell with Protestant rites.

A rebellion at once broke out, the third in less than two years, and this time Mary succumbed. The rebels professed to take up arms to deliver the Queen from the thraldom of Bothwell, but when, on June 15, she separated from Bothwell, and surrendered on Carberry Hill, they treated her as a prisoner, and accused her of murdering her husband. Her marriage with Bothwell was generally regarded at the time, and has frequently been described by historians, as a sufficiently convincing proof of her guilt. More positive evidence was produced in the famous Casket Letters, alleged to have been written by Mary to Bothwell. A vigorous controversy has been waged for generations over the authenticity of the Casket Letters, and its most recent developments have seriously weakened the arguments for a theory of forgery; but the guilt or innocence of the Queen is a matter rather for the biographer than for the historian. Even if there was a domestic conspiracy between Mary and Bothwell, it remains true that Darnley's death was not the result of such a conspiracy alone. Guilty or innocent, Mary was ruined by a successful plot, in which a large number of her nobility were concerned. If she was guilty, she was unconsciously acting as their tool. When Bothwell had fled from Scotland to die in a Danish prison, and the discrowned Queen was enduring her long-drawn agony in England, the nobles quarrelled among themselves, and hurled at each other accusations of participation in the murder of Darnley.

Mary was taken to Lochleven Castle, whose Douglas owners might be expected to prove trusty gaolers of a Stewart Queen. She was compelled to sign a deed of abdication, and to nominate Murray as Regent for her little son. Murray had been out of Scotland since April; he returned in August, and visited his sister in her prison, for the purpose of threatening her with a death that he dared not inflict. Elizabeth, who disliked the deposition of Princes, had told her pensioners that

the Queen's life must be safe. On May 2, 1568, Mary, who had inspired loyalty in a youth of the Douglas name, escaped from Lochleven. An army, composed largely of Protestants, gathered round her standard, and marched towards Dumbarton Castle, where they hoped to place their Queen in safety. At Langside they were met by Murray and totally defeated. Mary, trusting to assurances of help which Elizabeth had sent her at Lochleven, resolved, against the advice of her friends, to throw herself on her cousin's mercy, and on May 16, her little boat crossed the Solway.

Elizabeth declined to see her guest until she had cleared herself from the suspicion of Darnley's murder, and Mary consented to prosecute her rebels before an English Commission, and so to give them the opportunity of supporting their accusations against her. The Commission had a tortuous history, and it ended in 1568, with a self-contradictory decision. Nothing, said the English Queen, had been adduced against Murray and his adherents that might impair their honour or allegiance, but, on the other hand, they had shown nothing against their Sovereign "whereby the Queen of England should conceive or take any evil opinion of the Queen, her good sister." The Earl of Murray returned to Scotland with an increased allowance of English gold, and Mary was subjected to a cruel and rigorous imprisonment, which broke her health and went near to breaking her spirit. Henceforward, if the rulers of Scotland disregarded Elizabeth's wishes, she could always threaten to release her prisoner, and once or twice Mary dared to hope that she would do so. While the English Queen thus gained security in her Scottish policy, she paid the penalty at home in a series of rebellions and conspiracies, and in the loss of the lovalty of most of her Roman Catholic subjects.

In Scotland there was still a "Queen's party," which gave trouble to Murray and his successors in the regency. A Convention, summoned while Mary was at Lochleven, confirmed the Acts of the Parliament of 1560, but Mary's escape and flight to England soon diverted Murray's attention. When, early in 1569, he returned from the Conference which discussed Mary's guilt, he had to march with a strong force through the North of Scotland to suppress the Marian party in the Huntly country, and he had also to expel "Border thieves" from their homes. On January 22, 1570, as he was passing through Linlithgow on his way to reduce the Marian stronghold of Dumbarton, he was murdered by one of his great enemies, the Hamiltons. If Murray had been the legitimate successor of James V, he would probably have been one of Scotland's greatest Kings. His character, both in its strength and in its meanness, resembles that of a possessor of Stewart blood a hundred years later, William of Orange. The memory of his statesmanship has given him, not undeservedly, the title of the "Good Regent." He was succeeded by the Earl of Lennox, the father of the murdered Darnley, who found that Murray's death had greatly strengthened the Queen's party. Edinburgh Castle was now held for the Queen by Maitland of Lethington, and Kirkaldy of Grange, two recruits from "the King's party," and Huntly raised Mary's standard in the North. But Lennox and Morton, with English help, had the best of the fighting, and in April, 1571, they recovered Dumbarton Castle, and hanged as an accomplice in Darnley's murder, Archbishop Hamilton, who had been the unworthy leader of a belated movement for the internal reform of the Roman Church in Scotland. His death induced the historian of the King's party, George Buchanan, to invent a novel account of Darnley's murder, in which the name of Bothwell is not mentioned. In the early summer of 1571 the City of Edinburgh witnessed a series of combats between the King's party and the garrison of the castle, and, in September, Grange and Lethington sent an expedition, under Huntly, to Stirling, where the enemy were holding a Parliament. They were successful in capturing the Regent and several other nobles, but the Earl of Mar made a sally from the castle and effected a rescue. Lennox was killed in the fighting, and was succeeded by the Earl of Mar, who



EDINBURGH CASTLE. From a map engraved in 1575.

spent an unhappy year as Regent of a troubled kingdom. The Queen's party gained some of the ground they had lost in Aberdeenshire, and made good their defence of Edinburgh Castle. Mar died in October, 1572, and the new Regent was the Earl of Morton.

Morton was the most shameless and the most greedy of the nobles of this wicked age, but he was able as well as unscrupulous, and he succeeded in bringing the whole country under his rule. Edinburgh Castle fell in June, 1573, and, with its fall, the civil war came to an end.

His merciless government brought something like peace and order into the Border country. "His five years," wrote a contemporary, "were esteemed to be as happy and peaceable as ever Scotland saw. The name of a Papist durst not be heard of, there was no thief nor oppressor that durst show himself." Morton, like Murray, had done much for the security of Protestantism, but he was no friend to the Church. "He could not suffer Christ to reign freely," it was complained, and this sentence gives the keynote to Scottish history for a century. The Parliaments of 1560 and 1567 had abolished Episcopacy without calling attention to the fact. There was no provision for the episcopal office in the new discipline, and from 1560-1572 the only Bishops in Scotland were the survivors of the Roman prelates. Morton did not love Bishops, but he loved their revenues, and, in 1572, during the regency of Mar, he succeeded in reviving the titles of Archbishop, Bishop, Abbot, and Prior. The bearers of these names were to have neither consecration nor special authority; they were to draw the revenues of the lands of bishopric or abbey and to hand over the greater portion of them to a lay patron, and they were popularly described as "Tulchan Bishops," a tulchan being a calf's skin filled with straw to induce a cow to give milk. An arrangement made in 1561, by which the new clergy and the Crown were to share onethird of the revenue of the old Church, had not been carried out, and Morton, on succeeding to the regency, made himself the nominal protector of the clergy. He acted on the economical principle of "four kirks to a minister," and when a St. Andrews professor denounced his robbery of the Church he banished him from Scotland. In the month in which Morton became Regent the Church lost its greatest personality by the death of John Knox (October 24, 1572). "Nane I haif corrupted, nane I haif defrauded, merchandise haif I not maid," he said; no acre of Scottish soil had fallen to him, no loot of cathedral or abbey had ever stained his hands. In his last months he denounced the simony by which Morton appointed a Douglas to the titular See of St. Andrews, retaining the greater portion of its revenues. Knox had been, of necessity, more of a fighter than an organizer, but in the Book of Common Order, variously known as the Psalm-Book and Knox's Liturgy he had provided the model for the services of the Church. Under his guidance the General Assembly had met once or twice a year, and, except in pecuniary matters, it had exercised a profound influence upon politics. The civil war which followed Mary's flight had rendered the Church entirely dependent upon the nobility, and Morton made it clear that he intended to govern the Church as well as the kingdom. One of the ecclesiastical grievances against the Regent shows how far the Church was prepared to go in claiming judicial powers. An Edinburgh elder had broken the law of the country by selling wheat out of Scotland, and the Church ordered him to do penance. "I have given him licence," said Morton, "and it appertaineth not to you to judge of that matter."

The Church found a new leader in Andrew Melville, a Scottish scholar, who had studied in Paris under Pierre de la Ramée (Petrus Ramus) and had taught at Geneva. He became Principal of the University of Glasgow in 1574, and was transferred to St. Andrews in 1580; he brought the New Learning into these Universities, and to some extent into the University of Aberdeen, and when the University of Edinburgh was founded in 1584 and Marischal College at Aberdeen in 1593, the constitutions of these new seats of learning were in accordance with Melville's views. As an educational reformer he banished the medieval curriculum from the Universities and intro-

duced the study of languages and theology. As an ecclesiastical reformer, Melville was the founder of Scottish Presbyterianism. Immediately on his return to Scotland, he raised a question which had not been discussed in 1560—whether there was any Scriptural sanction for the office of Bishop in the Christian Church. The General Assembly of 1575 resolved that "the name Bishop is common to every pastor," and ordered a re-consideration of the polity of the Church. The result of the reconsideration was the Second Book of Discipline of 1581. The First Book, sanctioned by the Church in 1560, had never received Parliamentary confirmation. and its successor has a somewhat similar history. The Second Book differed from the First chiefly in its definite repudiation of the episcopal office and its insistence on the essential parity or equality of all ministers, and in its emphatic assertion that ecclesiastical authority, "the Power of the Keys," is different and distinct from the Civil Power, and comes immediately from God, "not having a temporal Head on the Earth, but only Christ, the only spiritual King and governor of his kirk." This theory of the spiritual independence of the Church was, under Melville's influence, carried to such extremes that the ministers claimed to be responsible for what they said in the pulpit, to the courts of the Church and to them alone. While religion was the politics of the day, it is evident that no civil government could have admitted such a claim. In the year in which the Second Book of Discipline was approved by the Assembly, the efficiency of the Church as a political (as well as a spiritual) organization was greatly increased by the introduction of the hierarchy of Church Courts, which is the characteristic of Presbyterian order. The parochial assembly or Kirk Session, the classical* assembly or Presbytery, the

^{*} The assembly of a classis or division.

provincial assembly or Synod, and the national or General Assembly soon came to exercise a profound influence over the whole of the Lowlands of Scotland, and gave the leaders of the Church a valuable weapon in their struggle with the civil power.

While the Church was developing its Hildebrandine claims, the series of revolutions which marked James's rule as King of Scotland had begun. In 1578, Morton was driven from the regency, and James VI. became, at the age of twelve, nominally responsible for the Government. Morton temporarily recovered his power, and brought about the forfeiture of the House of Hamilton, but James soon fell under the influence of his father's cousin, Esmé Stewart, a French nobleman, who, as Duke of Lennox, was the chief Minister from 1580-1582. Morton was accused of being "art and part" in the murder of Darnley, and was executed in June, 1581, in spite of Elizabeth's attempts to save him. Lennox was a Roman Catholic, and his ascendancy produced an anti-Popery scare, which he tried to calm by a conversion to Protestantism and a submission to the Church, and by a National Covenant. By the Confession of Faith of 1581 King and people recorded their detestation of "the usurped authority of that Roman Antichrist." In contrast to the Positive Confession of 1560, the protest of 1581 was known as the Negative Confession, Among the enormities of the Pope the new Confession included "his manifold orders," but made no further reference to the question which was already dividing King and people. James, under the influence of Lennox, and probably as a reaction from the teaching of George Buchanan, had already indicated his desire for episcopacy and absolute government, but the widespread unrest, caused by the Catholic intrigues of the time, brought about a revolution, which deprived him for a year of any influence in the State.

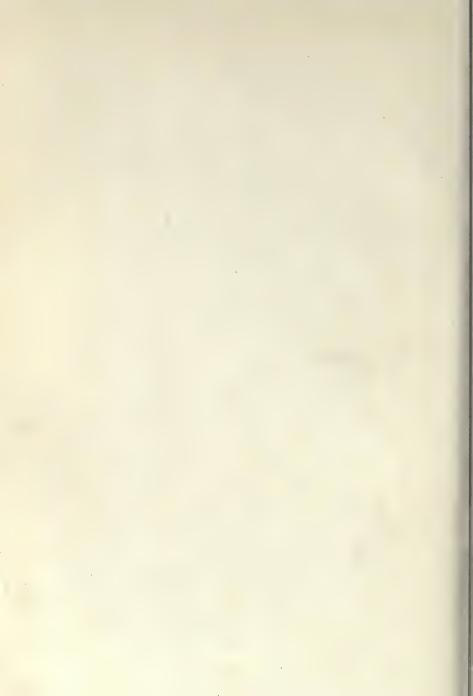
In August, 1582, while James was hunting in Perthshire he was seized by a number of nobles and brought to Ruthven Castle, the stronghold of the Earl of Gowrie, where, in answer to his tears, he was told "Better bairns greet than bearded men." The Raid of Ruthven meant the downfall of Lennox, who had to flee from Scotland. The clergy were overjoyed, the Assembly of 1582 gave its formal approval to the Raid, and the King's new advisers eagerly welcomed the alliance of the Church. But next year James escaped, and took as his adviser one of the Stewarts of Ochiltree (a brother-in-law of John Knox), who had been an ally of Lennox and had been created Earl of Arran. James crushed the leaders of the Raid of Ruthven, and entered into a desperate intrigue with the Duke of Guise against Elizabeth, and even wrote to the Pope to ask his assistance, and to suggest the possibility of his own conversion to Rome. The succession to the English throne was always the King's first concern, but on more than one occasion he was foolish enough to enter into plots which aimed at an immediate possession of Elizabeth's Crown, and which might easily have destroyed all chance of realizing his ambition. In 1584 he put Gowrie to death, and took his vengeance on the Church in the series of "Black Acts," which asserted the royal headship over the Church, and the right of the King to appoint Bishops and to decide when Assemblies should meet, and which prohibited the ministers from preaching on political topics under the penalty of treason. An affair on the Borders gave Elizabeth the opportunity of bringing about the fall of Arran, and James, now convinced that his best course was to remain on good terms with the English Queen, and alarmed by the rise of the Catholic League in France, acquiesced in the ruin of his favourite, and in the return to Scotland of the nobles who had been concerned in the



MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS, DAUGHTER OF JAMES V. BY HIS SECOND WIFE, MARY OF GUISE. Page 148.

Born at Linlithgow 1542, beheaded at Fotheringay 1587.

From the memorial portrait at St. Mary's College, Blairs, Aberdeen.



Ruthven raid. Arran fell in the end of 1585. A year later James gave Elizabeth a still stronger proof of friendship in the sacrifice of his mother. The continuance of conspiracies against her life compelled Elizabeth to consent to the execution of the guest whom she had invited to take refuge in England. She had long ago arranged with the Regent Morton that he should seize and murder Mary, and she now tried to persuade Mary's Puritan gaoler to murder his prisoner, but, in the end, she had to permit a public execution. James failed to make any real effort on Mary's behalf, and apologized for such efforts as he made, and when Elizabeth wrote to inform him that, on February 8, 1587, she had cut off the head of his mother by accident, James accepted the explanation, and took steps to resist the Armada. The execution of the Queen of Scots caused great indignation in Scotland; there was a danger of a rising of Scottish Catholics in support of Philip, and in 1589 correspondence between Philip and the Earls of Huntly and Errol fell into the hands of Elizabeth. The writers received slight punishment, and three years later they were discovered in an intrigue for the landing in Scotland of a Spanish army, which was to invade England. We now know that James, who had in the interval made a Protestant marriage with the Princess Anne of Denmark, was in this plot, which is known as the "Spanish Blanks."* His lukewarmness in punishing the Catholic lords raised a suspicion of his complicity; in the end he had to subdue Huntly and Errol, and in 1594 he destroyed their castles in Aberdeenshire.

The rebellion of the Catholic lords was strangely mixed up with the almost incredible doings of the Earl of Both-

^{*} Eight papers were discovered—blank, except for the signatures of the Earls of Huntly, Angus, and Errol. Their messenger was instructed to fill them up with conditions which had been given him by word of mouth.

well, a nephew of Queen Mary's third husband. The story is too long for recital here, and its importance lies in the effect upon the King's ecclesiastical policy of the discredit which these events brought upon him. After the passing of the "Black Acts" of 1584, James had succeeded both in encouraging the growth of an episcopal party within the Church, and in separating the nobility from the clergy. By an Act of 1587 all ecclesiastical property was annexed to the crown, subject to an unsatisfactory provision for the payment of the clergy "in their degrees." A lavish distribution of lands among the nobles made it their interest to support the monarchy against the Church. But the failure of James to punish Huntly either for his first intrigue with Spain or for the murder of the "Bonny Earl of Moray" (son-in-law of the Regent) weakened his position so much that the Parliament of 1592 rescinded the Black Acts and gave its sanction to the establishment of Presbytery. The Church had helped to maintain peace in the kingdom while James was in Denmark at the time of his marriage (1590), and the "Golden Acts" of 1592 were not entirely involuntary on the King's part. He was passing through a Protestant phase of mind, and in 1590 he had spoken publicly of the Anglican service as "an evil Mass said in English." The Presbytery of Edinburgh levied troops for his northern expedition against Huntly, and he appealed in 1596 to the General Assembly to grant him a tax; so strong a position had the Church acquired. and so far it trespassed into the region of the civil power.

The good understanding between the Church and the Crown was of short duration. In 1596 James, in spite of remonstrances from the General Assembly, allowed Huntly and Errol to return to Scotland. It was in connection with this incident that Andrew Melville made his famous assertion of the complete independence of the

Church. "There is," he told James, "twa kings and twa kingdomes in Scotland. Thair is Chryst Jesus the King, and his kingdome the Kirk, whase subject King James the Saxt is, and of whase kingdome nocht a king nor a lord nor a heid, bot a member. And they whome Chryst hes callit and commandit to watch over his Kirk and govern his spirituall kingdome hes sufficient power of him." The King dismissed Melville pleasantly, but before long his challenge was taken up, and "God's sillie vassal" proved stronger than the Church. A St. Andrews minister had, it was alleged, described Queen Elizabeth as an atheist, and he claimed to be tried by a Church court. The King's attempt to punish him led to a great riot in Edinburgh on December 17, 1596. James at once brought the capital to its senses by leaving the city and removing the Privy Council and the law courts. The citizens of Edinburgh submitted, and James himself summoned a series of Assemblies, in which he secured the presence of a large proportion of the episcopal party, who were strong in the North of Scotland. He persuaded a committee appointed by one of these Assemblies to petition that the ministers of the Church should be represented in Parliament. There was only one possible method of representation, and an Act of Parliament of 1597 ordered that "all ministers provided to prelacies should have a vote in Parliament." An Assembly accepted the Act, and, though the word "Commissioner" was used instead of "Bishop," three "Bishops" (without episcopal orders) were appointed in 1600 to the Sees of Aberdeen, Ross, and Caithness, the revenues of which had not been dissipated among the King's friends. James could boast that, before leaving Scotland he had destroyed the parity of the clergy. Having had the best of it in his struggle with Andrew Melville, he had also an opportunity of revenging himself for the Raid of Ruthven. The "Gowrie Conspiracy" of August, 1600, is one of the mysteries of Scottish history. James asserted that he had been inveigled to Perth and attacked by the young Earl of Gowrie and his brother, the Master of Ruthven; he succeeded in getting help, and Gowrie and the Master were killed in the struggle. His story, true or false, is improbable.

Elizabeth was taking "an unconscionable time in dying," and her impatient successor's last years in his native kingdom were busy with intrigues to prepare the way for his peaceful accession. He committed himself to the grant of something like toleration to English Catholics, while, at the same time, he secured the support of Robert Cecil. When Elizabeth died in March, 1603, he realized the ambition of his life, and on April 5, he left Edinburgh rejoicing. One of the members of his first House of Commons described Scotland as "the most barren and sterile of all countries," and the reply of the great Scottish lawyer, Sir Thomas Craig,* throws some light on the condition of the country when James left it:

"Scotland, too, has her veins of ore, and reaps her harvest of heroes. Less fertile than England she may be, but she lacks none of the necessaries of life. Fewer of her people die of starvation than is the case in England, France, or Italy. . . . There is no country in which a man can live more pleasantly or delicately than Scotland. Nowhere else are fish so plentiful; indeed, unless they are freshly caught on the very day, we refuse to eat them. We have meat of every kind. Nowhere else will you find more tender beef and mutton, or wildfowl more numerous and of greater variety. . . . We eat barley bread as pure and white as that of England and France. Our servants are content with oatmeal, which makes them hardy and long-lived. The greater

^{*} De Unione Regnorum Britanniæ. Scott. Hist. Soc. trs. Prof. C. S. Terry, pp. 418, 419.





WILLIAM MAITLAND OF LETHINGTON (1528[?]-1573). Page 154.

Secretary of State to Mary, Queen of Scots.

From the engraving by C. Picart of the original painting by William Hilton, A.R.A., at
Thirlstane Castle.

number of our farm hands eat bread made of peas and beans. . . . So, though we have less money (and in that respect there is no comparison between us and our neighbours), yet we may console ourselves with the reflection that if our means are small, our needs are small also. . . . We do not mind our neighbours sneering at our lack of wealth. For wealth and material resources are not everything; otherwise we should long ago have lost our liberty and fallen under the dominion of the English."

CHAPTER VII

THE NATIONAL COVENANT

SEVEN years before the death of Queen Elizabeth the King of Scotland told a General Assembly that "there would not be anie meane gentleman in Scotland more subject to the good order and discipline of the Kirk than he would be." Four years after the union of the Crowns the Sovereign of "Great Britain" said to his English Parliament: "I write and it is done, and by a Clearke of the Councell I governe Scotland now, which others could not do by the sword." The first assertion was a diplomatic promise, the second a boast which both countries knew to be amply justified. King James's accession to the throne of the Tudors explains a part, and no small part, of the contrast. He had become possessed, not only of great resources and new dignities, but also of a machinery of absolute government, which, while it was being attacked in his new kingdom, might be applied to his old one. The introduction of the English methods of government by council is the characteristic feature of the rule of the three most powerful monarchs of Scotland, James I., Charles II., and James II. The Privy Council became at once the executive and the legislature of the kingdom. Scottish Parliament was easily and promptly reduced to its traditional insignificance by the simple device of nominating the lords of the Articles. "Their parliaments hold but three days, their statutes are but three lines," was an English sneer at Scottish methods of government under King James, and the King himself regarded the Scottish Estates as the model of what Parliamentary institutions ought to be:

"If any man doe propound or utter any seditious or uncomely speeches, he is straight interrupted and silenced. Only such bills as I allowe of are put into the Chancellor's hand to be propounded to the Parliament. When they have passed them for lawes, they are presented unto me, and . . . I must say: 'I ratifie and approve all things done in this present Parliament.' And if there bee anything that I dislike, they rase it out before."

The General Assembly was forbidden to meet, and its place was taken by Courts of High Commission on the English model. Before leaving Scotland, James had established his ascendancy over the Privy Council, had reduced its numbers, and had added to its powers; it now became a small committee of the King's servants, responsible to him for the administration of the country, and uncontrolled even by the decisions of the Court of Session. James lectured and scolded his Privy Councillors, and sent them their orders from London. He had no intention of destroying the influence of Parliament and Assembly in order to establish an all-powerful bureaucracy.

His English heritage made King James the master of the nobility of Scotland. Baronial rivalries had already been stilled by the influence of the Reformation. Family feuds, like national antagonisms, held of necessity a minor place in a country whose population was obsessed by religious bitterness, and the scramble for Church lands provided a more tempting object of ambition than the old struggles for an uncertain, and in its nature, temporary hold upon the reins of government. James, in Scotland, had purchased peace by grants of ecclesiastical lands, and his departure from Edinburgh did not make his gifts any less lavish. To these restraints upon the quarrels of the Scottish nobility were now added some new considerations. Treacherous leagues with England were impossible; Border lords and Highland chiefs could no longer look to London for support against Edinburgh. With the opportunity had disappeared the temptation, for Scotsmen began to succumb to the attractions of "town." The transference of the Court to England made London the goal of Scottish ambition. James wished to reduce his old kingdom to the condition of "Cumberland and Northumberland and those other remote and northern shires." His wish was not destined to be realized in its entirety, but, for the rest of the reign of King James, the Scottish baronage were as the nobility of the North of England. They had become local magnates, and if they longed for opportunities of action on a wider field, they must seek them in London. The mysteries of State, of which King James loved to speak, could no longer be found in Edinburgh.

The feudal menace to the Scottish monarchy had thus been removed, and James was strong enough to keep in check the new danger which the Reformation had created. The explanation of the success of his ecclesiastical policy is simple enough. His measures were directed against the clergy, and for the most part he left the laity alone. He set himself to destroy the political power of the Church, about which the ministers cared much, and only once did he attempt to interfere with the forms which were dear to the heart of the layman. He recognized that the substitution of a white surplice for a black gown was a much more dangerous innovation than the manipulation, or even the suppression, of the General

Assembly. It was not James, but Charles, who sowed the wind, and the harvest was reaped by the sower. James cared much about theological doctrine, more about the relations between Church and State, little about ecclesiastical order. His theology, after his departure to England, gave slight offence, even to the stoutest Calvinist. In 1603 he spoke of the Roman Church as "our Mother Church," but in the same sentence he protested against her "numerous corruptions and infirmities," and, some years later, he devoted many pages to identifying the Pope with the Antichrist and "our Mother Church" with the Scarlet Woman. In ecclesiastical polity he was a moderate. Episcopacy he regarded as of the bene esse of the State, but it was not of the esse of the Church.

"I do think it a speciall point of oure Christian liberty which Christ hath left unto us," he wrote, with a tolerance more wise than gracious, "that every Christian king, free prince, or state, may sette downe and establishe suche a forme of exterioure ecclesiasticall policie in the church within theire dominions as shall best agree with the frame of their civill government and policie." *

The sentiment here expressed did not bring King James any nearer to Andrew Melville, but it saved him from the error of Charles and Laud, and rendered possible the acquiescence of the people of Scotland in the establishment of a form of episcopacy which satisfied the requirements of his "civill governement and policie." The difference between the King and Melville admitted of no compromise. Each believed in a Divine prerogative, each claimed supreme powers. James was prepared to make men conform in religion or to "harry them out of the land"; the Melvillian party believed that it was

^{*} Lusus Regius, being poems and other pieces by King James I., now first set forth and edited by Robert S. Rait, 1901, p. 65.

in their province to drive men into a different kind of conformity or to give them over "in the hands and power of the devill." The King demanded obedience to the monarchy under the penalties of treason; the preachers reminded him of the fate of Saul, and recalled the plagues which troubled the people of Israel "till the sonnes and posteritie of Saull were takine and hangit up." When he attempted to enforce his authority over the Church the answer of the preachers was "a plaine Nolumus, detestamus, execramus, anathematizamus." They never ceased to assert that they claimed no "immunity or privilege, as the Papists do." But "according to the Word of God and lawse of the realme, they had distinguishchit the civill and ecclesiasticall jurisdiction." There could be no such distinction, for religion was the politics of the time, and the Church had already proved itself the greatest power in the State. The appeal to the laws of the realm was rarely in its favour, and was indeed scarcely compatible with the higher ground which it assumed. John Knox had urged that the consent of the Sovereign was unnecessary for the Reformation Settlement; if it was asked, the request was merely an indication of "debtfull obedience," not to "beg any strength to our Religion." If there were two Kings and two kingdoms in Scotland, the Kirk could not require the support of the secular law, useful as that might be upon occasion. Each party had adopted an impossible position, and the ultimate appeal was to the sword.

Meanwhile King James pursued his own policy of going to the extreme limits of safety. He struck promptly and he struck hard. A General Assembly had met in the November before his accession to the English throne; the King determined that there should never be another meeting under the old conditions. The "Golden Act" of 1592 contemplated an annual Assembly, and a meeting

had been arranged for July, 1604. James declined to summon it, and protests were made in vain. Next year a meeting of the Assembly was again prohibited; nineteen ministers disobeyed the injunction by holding a meeting at Aberdeen, and ten others arrived too late to join in defying King and Privy Council. The small numbers of this Assembly may be taken as an indication of the strength of the King's position even when, as in this case, he soon found himself compelled to abandon an attempt to bring his opponents under the penalties of treason for refusing to admit the right of a secular court to deal with their offence. The Privy Council, whose authority they had denied, warned James that he was creating universal sympathy for them, and the King adopted a new and characteristic device. He contented himself with banishing the members of the Aberdeen Assembly, and summoned to his own presence Andrew Melville, his nephew, James Melville, whose human Diary is the most fascinating record of the time, and six other prominent ministers. They reached London in September, 1606, and were graciously received; they listened to Anglican sermons, and they debated with Anglican divines in the royal presence. Compromise was, of course, out of the question. "Either the Pope or the Prince or the Presbytery must have supremacy over the Church, the Pope is not to have it"; this was the measure of agreement in a private discussion between James Melville and Dr. Montagu, afterwards Bishop of Winchester. "Mr. Calvin gives it to the Presbytery, and so do we," said Melville. "That is treason in England," was the reply, "for the Prince has it by our laws." Melville's retort was obvious: "Not by our laws of Scotland." Montagu met it with a prophecy which was already being fulfilled: "Ye must have it so in Scotland," he said abruptly, and went his way.

The fulfilment would be easier if there were no Melvilles in Scotland, and Andrew Melville's tongue gave James the excuse he wanted. In one discussion he referred to the King's Advocate, who had prosecuted the Aberdeen Assembly, as "the accuser of the brethren." James knew his Bible, and he looked at Archbishop Bancroft. "Methinks he makes him Antichrist," he said. "By God, it is the devil's name in the Revelation! He has made the devil of him." Turning his back on Melville, he closed the interview. Soon afterwards James obtained a copy of an unpublished Latin epigram, in which Andrew Melville had spoken of the English Church in terms similar to those which the King applied to the Roman. He had found the marks of the Babylonish harlot on an English altar, as he found Romish rags in Bancroft's lawn sleeves. The lines, printed in James Melville's Diary, are in the controversial manner of the day, but the Lords of the Council considered them good ground for imprisonment. Melville was kept for some months in honourable restraint, and in May, 1607, was committed to the Tower, where he remained until the spring of 1611. Henri de la Tour, Duc de Bouillon, wished to avail himself of his services in the University of Sedan, and James allowed him to go into lifelong exile. A great scholar and a brave man, Andrew Melville had left his mark upon both the ecclesiastical and the educational system of Scotland. His companions were more tenderly dealt with. They were informed that the King wished them to have further opportunities of considering the arguments for episcopacy. It was proposed to billet them among Anglican dignitaries as the involuntary guests of unwilling hosts. James Melville urged upon Bancroft the unsatisfactory nature of the arrangement, and the Archbishop agreed. "I do think, my Brother, that the Bishops would have



THE EXECUTION OF MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS. Page 191.

Entarged from the memorial portrait at St. Mary's College, Blairs.



little pleasure of you, except to pleasure the King's Majesty, for our custom is, after our serious matters, to refresh ourselves an hour or two with cards and other games after meals, and you are more precise." The prelates were saved from guests who refused to play cards; James Melville was ordered to reside at Newcastle, and the other ministers, under various restrictions, were permitted to return to Scotland.

While the Melvilles were defending Presbytery in London, James was busy attacking it in Scotland. Between the issue of their summons to England and the date of their final departure from Scotland, the Estates at Perth had framed an Act acknowledging "His Majesty's sovereign authority, princely power, royal prerogative, and privilege of his crown over all estates, persons, and causes whatsoever." In 1597 James had prepared the way for the restoration of episcopacy, and on the same July day of 1606 on which was passed the Act "anent the King's prerogative," the obedient Parliament legislated for the restitution of the estate of Bishops. It regretted that "the ancient and fundamental policy consisting in the maintenance of the Three Estates of Parliament has been greatly impaired and almost subverted by the indirect abolishing of the Estate of Bishops by the act of annexation of the temporalities of benefices to the crown," passed in 1587, and that act was forthwith rescinded. Before James Melville left London for Newcastle, in 1607, Bancroft was able to say to him:

"Our difference is only in the governing of the Kirk and some ceremonies; but I understand, since ye came from Scotland, your Kirk is almost brought to be one with ours in that also; for I am certified that there are Constant Moderatores appoyntit in your Generall Assemblies, synods and Presbyteries . . . in every Province and Diocese there is a Bishop, a Moderator of a Chapter or a Presbytery, answerable all to the King."

Bancroft's words, spoken in March, 1607, revealed to Melville the full significance of an occurrence of the previous December. James had nominated about 130 ministers to meet a number of noblemen at Linlithgow, and this body had accepted a royal proposal that each Presbytery should have a perpetual Moderator. Before dispersing, it nominated Moderators, and arranged that each of the existing Bishops should be the perpetual Moderator of his own Presbyterv. Each Moderator was promised by the King an annual salary of £100 Scots. In January, James referred to this Linlithgow meeting as a General Assembly, and in the spring a published version of its Acts was found to contain provisions that Synods as well as Presbyteries should possess perpetual Moderators, and that the Moderators of Presbyteries and Synods should always be members of the General Assembly. Permanent Moderators of Provincial Synods provided a stepping-stone to episcopal government, and there was much discontent. The Privy Council hesitated, but James went boldly on. In 1608 he summoned a General Assembly, in which, says Calderwood,* "the bishops gott a great vantage. They were continued [as] commissioners [members] of the General Assemblie and perpetuall moderators of the presbyteries where they were resident." Calderwood explains the royal victory by the exile or banishment of the wisest and most learned among the Presbyterian leaders, and it is clear that the opponents of episcopacy felt the absence of the Melvilles. Other considerations must not be forgotten. James had given the Bishops authority to determine ministerial stipends, and just before the Assembly met they had employed these powers. "By augmentation they allured,

^{*} David Calderwood, 1575-1650. His History of the Kirk of Scotland is the classical account of this period from the Presbyterian standpoint.

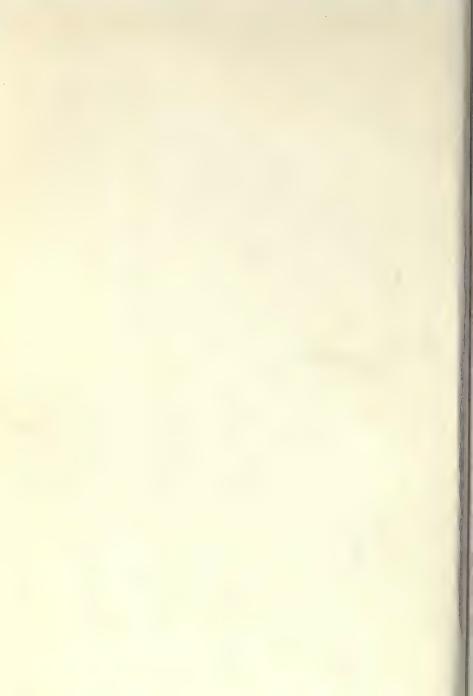
by diminution they weakened and discouraged a number of the ministry," says Calderwood, and there were not wanting suggestions of more open bribery. Alike in 1607 and in 1608, the King urged a more drastic treatment of Papists, and thereby conciliated popular feeling. The payments to the Moderators were originally made to enable them to take measures against Popish recusants. The same device was employed in the Parliament of 1609. It began by employing episcopal machinery to enforce the penal laws, and then proceeded to give the Bishops the ancient ecclesiastical jurisdiction in spiritual and ecclesiastical cases. These Acts were followed by the creation, in 1610, of a Court of High Commission for each archbishopric.

Everything was now ready for the final step, and James convened a nominated Assembly at Glasgow in June, 1610. Its procedure, as usually happened during this period, was ingeniously assimilated to that of the Scottish Parliament, for, after the election of the Moderator (the Archbishop of Glasgow), the first business was to appoint a committee resembling the Lords of the Articles. The royal commissioner, the Earl of Dunbar, the Bishops, and a number of officials, noblemen, and ministers were appointed as a "Privy Conference," and this conference prepared a series of resolutions to which the Assembly assented. They condemned the Aberdeen Assembly, agreed that Bishops should be Moderators in every "Diocesan Synod," gave the Bishops power over presentations to livings, depositions of ministers and excommunications, and arranged for episcopal visitations. Bishops were to be subject to the censure of the General Assembly, but could not be deprived without the King's consent. No minister, under pain of deprivation, was to speak against the decisions of the Assembly of 1610, or to preach upon "the question of equality and inequality in the kirk." The General Assembly had sold the pass. If parity might not be taught from Scottish pulpits, Presbytery was doomed. Calderwood says that the members were bribed, under pretext of paying travelling expenses. Whether there was bribery or not, there certainly was sharp practice. James had won his victory by the recognized methods of statecraft. He had still to make his prelates into Bishops in more than name. Three of their number, the Archbishop of Glasgow (John Spottiswoode, the historian), and the Bishops of Brechin and Galloway, went to London to receive consecration from the Bishops of London, Ely, and Bath; neither of the English Archbishops was to take part in the ceremony, lest Canterbury or York should revive the old claim to superiority. The Bishop of Ely, Lancelot Andrewes, wished to ordain them to the diaconate and the priesthood before proceeding to consecration, but Bancroft and Abbot, on different grounds, agreed that it was unnecessary. Spottiswoode* records this discussion, but it does not interest Calderwood, who devotes his attention to showing that the Glasgow Assembly, though it had conferred jurisdiction upon the prelates, had not authorized them "to take upon them the office of a Bishop, distinct from the office of a presbyter." The three Bishops returned to Scotland and consecrated their brethren. There was no reordination of the clergy. The Acts of the Assembly of 1610 were ratified by Parliament in 1612, and all Acts of a contrary tendency were rescinded. Under cover of explaining the meaning of the Assembly's resolutions, the Act omitted all reference to the subjection of Bishops to the censure of a General Assembly, allowed them to appoint substitutes as Moderators of Synods, and granted

^{*} John Spottiswoode, 1565-1637, Archbishop of St. Andrews, author of a *History of the Church and State of Scotland* up to the death of James VI.



THE NAVE OF ST. MUNGO'S CATHEDRAL, GLASGOW. Page 203. Bishop Robert Wishart built the nave in the later part of the thirteenth century.



them other powers. The Assembly had asked that it should meet annually, but there is no such provision in the Act.

James had not destroyed Presbytery: he had grafted the office of Bishop on to a Presbyterian system. The inferior Church Courts, the Kirk Session, the Presbytery, and the Synod still met, their powers were undefined, and, with popular feeling behind them, they could fight it out with the Bishops on equal terms. When the Bishops represented the central power, as in the High Commission Court (the two courts were united after Spottiswoode's translation to St. Andrews in 1615), they were supreme; in their own separate dioceses they had to share their authority with the courts of the Church. Extant ecclesiastical records give ample proof of the vigour of Presbyteries and Kirk Sessions, and the ordinary layman rarely had the existence of a Bishop brought home to him. Presbyteries frequently decided marriage questions; Kirk Sessions still punished Sabbath-breakers. The punishment of witches and the persecution of Papists afforded congenial exercise for the courts of the Church. The clergy murmured at the loss of their parity, but the laity, though they sympathized with individual victims of the royal policy, were by no means ripe for rebellion. They still possessed what they most cared about—the traditional ritual of the Presbyterian Church. Communion was received in a sitting posture; the observance of Holy Days was so rare as to receive special comment from the historians of the time; the ministers preached in their black Genevan gowns; in the conduct of public worship they still followed Knox's Book of Common Order.

So far the King's policy had met with almost uniform success, and, in spite of his arbitrary methods and the discontent which they had aroused, there was a possibility of permanence in the results that he had achieved. Some years later, James adopted new measures which gravely imperilled the existence of his ecclesiastical settlement. Not content with the attainment of his great end of subjecting the Church to the secular power, he entered upon a series of experiments of an entirely new character. The assimilation of the Church of Scotland to the Church of England appeared to him to be the logical conclusion of the introduction of Episcopacy, and so complete was his command of the ecclesiastical machinery of the country, that he determined to gain his ends through the action of the General Assembly. He had always insisted that it was not his intention to destroy the constitution of the Church, "but rather to augment and strengthen the same," and he had more than once announced that, as he had not interfered with Kirk Sessions, Presbyteries, and Provincial Assemblies, so "it never was his intention but that the keeping of General Assemblies at certain competent times was, and is, a most necessary means for the preservation of piety and union in the Kirk." No certain competent time occurred between 1610 and 1616, but in the summer of the latter year, James summoned an Assembly to meet in the episcopalian atmosphere of Aberdeen. Its members were not nominated, for the Bishop instructed the Presbyteries to "send their moderators with other commissioners and to furnish them with expenses." The Bishops attended without commissions from any of the courts of the Church, and the Archbishop of St. Andrews assumed the Moderatorship without any form of election. The reason assigned for the meeting was, as usual, the increase of Popery, and new methods of persecution were duly devised, and discussed at such length as to "make the Assembly to weary." When it became known that the remainder of the business included the

introduction of a new Confession of Faith, a new Catechism and a new Liturgy, numbers of the clerical members began to go home.

"They suffered all malcontents to depart. There rested then nothing but to ask those who were present, 'What say ye, my lord?' 'What say ye, laird?' 'What say ye, Mr. Doctor?' It was answered, 'Well, my lord.' If any man pressed to speak unspeared at [unquestioned] the Bishop wagged his finger and that meant silence."

The new Confession of Faith was produced and sanctioned, and it was agreed to prepare a "short and compendious Catechism" and a Liturgy and "form of Divine service," to replace the "common prayers contained in the Psalm Books," as the Book of Common Order was generally called. Extemporary or "conceived prayers," which had by this time become frequent, were to be used along with the new Liturgy.

The King was encouraged by the success of his first attempt. The Assembly was neither nominated nor bribed, yet the Holy Ghost (enclosed, as Calderwood profanely remarks, in a packet of letters from Whitehall) had guided it to comply with his wishes. The enemy, instead of withstanding the Bishops and the royal representatives, had sought refuge in flight. James was now meditating a visit to Scotland to continue his work in person, and he gave orders for the redecoration of the royal chapel at Holyrood, with carved figures of Patriarchs and Apostles. This idolatrous innovation drew protests from the Bishops themselves. The King was annoyed, but his rough humour came to the rescue. He wanted, he said, no "images and painted pictures adored by Papists"; lions, dragons, and devils, would do as well to ornament the royal pew as Patriarchs and Apostles, "and which of you would have been scandalized or offended if figures of lions, dragons, and devils had been

put up?" In the summer of 1617 James paid his longpromised visit and horrified the capital by the ritual at Holyrood, where organs played, choristers sang, and surplices were to be seen, and where the Bishops communicated kneeling, "not regarding either Christ's institution or the order of our Kirk." It is significant of the feeling in the country that the Bishop of Galloway, who regarded surplices and altars as "Romish toys," refused for some time to comply with the royal command to receive the Communion kneeling. To kneel at prayer was usual; the objection to the posture at Communion lay in the belief that it implied an adoration of the elements. At a small ecclesiastical convention held at St. Andrews, James asked for the acceptance of the rule of kneeling and for some other concessions. The reply was that only a General Assembly was competent to deal with such a question. "The King seemed to be content with the answer," says Calderwood; he returned to England in September, and summoned an Assembly which met at St. Andrews in November (1617). The Bishops undertook to superintend the election of its members, but they failed to procure an obedient Assembly, and James was compelled to summon another, which met at Perth in August, 1618. This time the Bishops had organized a thorough canvass, and were sure of their ground, and they carried the famous Five Articles of Perth, the modifications of ritual which James had, during his visit to Scotland, announced his intention of enforcing. Kneeling at Communion; the observance of Christmas, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension Day, and Whit Sunday; episcopal confirmation; private baptism in cases of necessity; and private Communion for the sick were the points on which the King had set his heart. The Bishops made no attempt to defend the royal views; they frankly confessed that the changes were not of their seeking, and

their best argument was that the Five Articles were in themselves "things indifferent" and should be accepted by loyal subjects. Otherwise, said the King's letter, and the Bishops pressed home the threat, the Church of Scotland was not likely to see another General Assembly.

The result of the discussion was a foregone conclusion, but this time there was no flight of the enemy. In the face of an announcement that the names of any who voted against the Articles would be reported to the King, they were carried only by eighty-six votes to forty-nine. The minority included forty-five ministers, but the quarrel between the King and the Church had ceased to be a clerical dispute. In the vain effort to enforce obedience to the Articles, it was necessary over and over again to prosecute laymen who encouraged ministers to refuse to dispense the Communion to kneeling recipients. When Parliament was invited in 1621 to ratify the Articles of Perth, there was opposition even among the Lords of the Articles, and the Act was passed with some difficulty. Of the burgess members twenty voted for it, and twentyfour against it. To the Act of 1612, which established Episcopacy, there had been no such opposition; but now the laity were in the line with the clergy. In spite of Assembly and Parliament, in the teeth of royal proclamations, the Articles were not obeyed, nor could James, even by an increase in the powers of the High Commission, secure their observance outside of the episcopal area in the north-east. Some few ministers preached on Christmas Days to congregations which, it was said, included more dogs than men; there was irreverent wrangling at Holy Communion; churches where the royal commands were defied were crowded on Communion Sundays, and others were empty; ministers were deprived and imprisoned; the citizens of Edinburgh were threatened with the removal of the courts; pamphlets were suppressed; the Court of High Commission had to deal with recusants of all classes from a Senator of the College of

Justice to the tradesmen of Edinburgh.

This was the situation at the King's death. Having found a solution of the problem of the relations between Church and State, he had himself reopened the question, for nothing less was involved in the opposition to the Five Articles. The Bishops thought the Church of Scotland would have been better without these ceremonies; to the people they were not things indifferent, and "they must obey God rather than men." It was probably this that roused the old King to a fury, which made the Bishops tremble for what might follow. In all the hideous persecution of the Roman Catholics, James had put only one priest to death, the Jesuit, Ogilvie, who told his judges that he regarded neither King nor Parliament so far as they contradicted the commands of the Pope. "Some deemed that it was done to be a terror to the sincerer sort of ministers not to decline the King's authority in any sense whatsoever." The warning was without effect: for during the last few years of the reign ministers and their people were loud in their denials of the right of the King to legislate for the Church. Yet it would be a mistake to regard the royal policy as ending in failure. It required more than ten years of still more foolish government to produce a rebellion. The Articles of Perth were but whips compared with the scorpions with which Charles and Laud were to propose to chastise the Church, and James contributed little to the forces which overwhelmed his son. Two incidents will serve to illustrate the extent to which the measures of James VI. were successful as a settlement of the ecclesiastical question in Scotland. Calderwood relates of a minister of Edinburgh, who accepted the Articles, that, years before, "when his pupil, now Earl of Wigtown, had styled one of the Bishops 'My Lord,' he bade him loose his points and threatened to whip him." The change of feeling before the outbreak of the Bishops' Wars is seen in one of the earliest known letters of Robert Baillie, the future Presbyterian leader. Writing in 1637 to a friend, he said:

"I think the two vacant Bishoprics shall be the occasion of thy provision; but God make thee a better one than the many among us are. Bishops I love, but pride, greed, luxury, oppression, immersion in secular affairs, was the bane of the Romish Prelates, and cannot have long good success in the Reformed."

James had made Bishops possible in Scotland; he had not done more, but this was much.

The real national history of the period is the ecclesiastical struggle, and the other aspects of the reign of James need not detain us long. His proposals for a union of the two kingdoms were pressed with an insistence which was indicative of little practical wisdom, and they were advocated in speeches full of the grotesque rhetoric in which he delighted:

"What God hath conjoyned let no man separate. I am the Husband, and all the whole Isle is my lawful wife; I am the Head, and it is my Body; I am the Shepherd, and it is my flocke; I hope therefore no man will be so unreasonable as to thinke that I that am a Christian King under the Gospel should be a Polygamist and husband to two wives; that I, being the Head, should have a divided and monstrous Body; or that, being the Shepheard to so faire a flocke (whose fold hath no wall to hedge it but the foure seas) should have my Flocke parted in two."

England, he told his Parliament at Westminster, would have all the advantages of the Union. "Is not here the personall residence of the King, his whole Court

and family? Is not here the seat of Justice and the fountaine of Government? . . . Some thinke that I will draw the Scottish nation hither, talking idlely of transporting of trees out of a barren ground into a better. ... Doe you not thinke I know England hath more people. Scotland more wast ground? so that there is roumth in Scotland rather to plant your idle people that swarme in London streets." From 1604 to 1609 James was busy endeavouring to persuade his English Parliament to accept a full and complete Union of the kingdoms. The Scottish Parliament, Scots Law, and the Scottish Church, were alike to cease to have any separate existence. In the great boon of freedom of trade, James considered that he possessed an all-sufficient inducement for the Scots; if England granted commercial equality, the Scottish Estates would accept English Law in three days. The remark was shrewd, but the prophecy was not to be tested, for the English Parliament would not hear of the abolition of the tariff. Even the Commission which recommended union in 1606 exempted cloth and meat from their free-trade proposals. The King gained two points. All laws which treated Scotland as a hostile country were repealed, and the English judges decided that Scotsmen born after King James's accession to the English throne (the Post nati) were no aliens, but natural subjects of the Crown. It was probably fortunate for James that he was disappointed in his attempts to carry what is, on general grounds, the most statesman-like scheme associated with his name. Such a union, dictated by the royal power, and involving the complete assimilation of the Churches, would probably have provoked a rebellion in Scotland, and might well have strengthened the Puritan party in the English Commons.

The paternal Government which James had created in his ancient kingdom was, apart from religious questions,

a benevolent despotism. The published records of the Privy Council of Scotland bear witness to the determination with which he attempted to establish a rule of law throughout the country; the historians who like him least allow him the credit of a persistent endeavour to attain a good end, and those who treat him most gently are unable to deny that the means he adopted sometimes involved chicanery and injustice. Family quarrels, which still led, on occasion, to free fights and the spilling of blood, were punished with fines and imprisonment. The Highlands were dragooned into something like obedience. The Clan Gregor had, early in 1603, distinguished themselves by an assault on the Colquhouns and Buchanans and the burning of the house of Luss. For this exploit their chief, deceived by a safe-conduct from the Earl of Argyll, was hanged at Edinburgh in 1604, and fire and sword was proclaimed (and freely used) against the clan. The Privy Council ordered that none should bear the name of Gregor or McGregor under pain of death, and that all concerned in the "slaughter of the Lennox" should be prohibited under a similar penalty from carrying any weapon except "one pointless kniff to cutt thair meate." As late as 1617, legislative sanction was given to these ordinances by the Estates in order to prevent the rising generation from taking the name that their fathers had been forced to abjure. Cantyre and the Southern Hebrides possessed clans as troublesome as the McGregors themselves, and after a treacherous capture of some of the chiefs, an agreement was made, in 1609, on the sacred soil of Iona. The Band or Covenant of Icolmkill provided for the establishment of churches, the suppression of vagabonds and beggars (among whom bards were somewhat arbitrarily included), the spread of the English tongue, and the punishment of offenders. The carrying of firearms and

the importation of wine and whisky were prohibited, but inns were to be established for the reception of travellers. Such remedial measures could only gradually be carried out, but provisions for the education of the children of chiefs and yeomen in the Lowlands until they could speak English were certain to bear fruit in the distant future. James had further difficulties in Islay, and Argyll was employed to put down two Macdonald rebellions, but the rule that the chiefs were to be held responsible for the obedience of their people brought by degrees something like order into the Highlands. While the clan system gave trouble in the West, the power of a feudal noble became dangerous in the Orkneys, where the Earl of Orkney governed so oppressively that James imprisoned him at Edinburgh. Two of his sons rebelled, and, although in 1612 the Orkneys and Shetlands were "annexed and appropriated to the patrimony of the Crown," there was no peace until the Earl and one of his sons were hanged. In the Borders, the Union with England rendered the royal task easier, and a joint English and Scottish Commission, possessed of supreme powers, reduced them to order by the merciless means which were generally recognized as being alone applicable to such situations.

During his last years in Scotland James had organized "plantations," or colonies of "answerable Lowland subjects," in the Western Islands, but he could not protect their lives or property, and the Lowland colonies in Lewis soon came to an end. A similar experiment was carried out with more success in Ulster, where James, in 1609, invited Englishmen and Scotsmen to settle. The Scots in Ireland proved good colonists; they were poor, and had to make a living. In spite of royal prohibitions, they intermarried with the Irish, and they were successful in persuading them to work for them. A favourite pro-

ject of the King's last years was the colonization of Acadia, to which the name of Nova Scotia was given. It was not a success, and early in the reign of Charles I. the territory was abandoned to France, which possessed a prior claim to it. To raise money for the plantation of Ulster, James had instituted the title of "Baronet," and he now sold baronetcies of Scotland or Nova Scotia to anyone who paid 6,000 marks for the settlement in Nova Scotia.

On March 27, 1625, King James died at Theobalds. He had not completed his fifty-ninth year, but men had long thought of him as "the old King." He had spent a stormy and strenuous youth, and, though his character degenerated in later life, he was never indolent or careless of his duties. Full as his days were of statescraft and intrigue, he found time not only for his favourite pastime of hunting, but also for reading and study. His native caution was balanced by an arrogant self-confidence, derived partly from the pride of kingship and partly from the assurance of pedantry. His cunning was often ineffective because of a fundamental naïveté which it could not conceal; his humour rarely saved him from the worst errors that lack of humour can bring, and never softened the cruelty which was inherent in his nature. In judging of his dealings with Scotland after 1603, the effect of his earlier experiences must fairly be taken into consideration. Neither James nor his family ever forgot the humiliations which Andrew Melville and the preachers had inflicted upon him. Fifty years after the King's death, his grandson, the Elector Palatine, recorded, in writing to his sister, the Electress Sophia, a story of the prayer of a Scottish minister for King James. "Break an arm or a legge of him, good Lord, and set him up againe," was the petition. James himself told the Perth Assembly of 1618 that he could hardly forget, though he

little liked to remember, "what and how manie abuses were offered to us by manie of the ministrie before our happie coming to this crown," and thanked God that he had been able to forgive. There is little sign of forgiveness except the King's own words. James had undoubtedly a blood-feud with the Scottish clergy, and he has been judged by his treatment of his enemies. He is the oddest, the most incongruous figure in our annals, but it is only fair to say that he had a real love for Scotland and a genuine desire for her welfare.

His son and successor, Charles I., made Bishops impossible in Scotland. It was, from the first, his intention to go beyond the Five Articles of Perth, and to enforce Anglican doctrine, discipline, and ritual, upon the Episcopal-Presbyterian Church which James had established. With the fatal facility for combining in opposition to himself all possible enemies which marked his rule in England, Charles prepared the way for his ecclesiastical changes by alienating the Scottish nobility—the class which, from its growing familiarity with English ways, was least likely to resent ecclesiastical innovations. Immediately on his accession Charles announced his intention of revoking all grants of land made since the death of James V. in 1542. It had been usual for Sovereigns of Scotland, on coming of age, to revoke grants made during their minority, but it was difficult to plead such revocations as precedents for the recall of grants made over eighty years before. The reigns of the King's father and grandmother had seen the distribution of the lands of the Church among the nobility, and the rise of new families on the ruins of the monasteries. There was scarcely a landowner in Scotland who was not affected by the Act of Revocation, issued under the Privy Seal in October, 1625. Charles's object was not merely to increase the royal revenue; he wished also to make proper

provision for the stipends of the clergy. The tithes, or "teinds," declared by Act of Parliament to be "the patrimony of the Kirk," had, in Scotland as elsewhere, been largely alienated from the medieval parish priests, and in the confiscations of the Reformation they had fallen into the hands of numbers of miscellaneous owners. unconnected with the lands from which they were drawn. In the disputes between the heritors or landowners and these new holders (known as "titulars of teinds"), the unfortunate clergy fared badly, and Charles proposed, not only to recover the Church lands for the Crown, but also to compel the titulars of teinds to cede their rights to the heritors or landowners of a parish, who would become directly responsible for their payment. Compensation must, of course, be given both to the titulars and to the holders of ecclesiastical lands, and in 1627 a Commission was appointed to settle the terms of surrender. Its deliberations and the numerous negotiations which accompanied so long a series of transactions are described by Professor Masson in his introduction to the first volume of the second series of the Privy Council Register. In the end, ten years' purchase was allowed for the lands, and nine years' purchase of one-fifth of the rent was decided to be sufficient compensation for the titulars. The process has been described by Professor Hume Brown as "the greatest economic revolution recorded in Scottish history." Its details were decided within about five years from the King's accession, and by the constant pressure of arbitrary power. When the final settlement was announced to the Scottish Parliament, the King had laid, in the opinion of one of his own officials, "the ground stone of all the mischief that followed after." He had secured the payment of the ministers of the Established Church by an arrangement which has lasted to the present day, but he could look

for little gratitude, and he received none. From many pulpits there had come denunciations of "noblemen and others who would not quit their teinds . . . and put them into the King's hands, to be imployed for the maintenance of ministers, and the poore, and schoolls, and other pious uses," but we do not read of commendations of the monarch who was responsible for a reform which increased the royal power over the Church. The nobles and the country gentlemen had found in the division of ecclesiastical lands both an incontrovertible argument for the Reformation and a good reason for supporting James VI. against the Reformed Church, and the Act of Revocation supplied an equally sound argument for aiding the recalcitrant Church against the King. The burghs suffered with the nobility, for they had shared in the spoils of the Church.

There was still another grievance of the new reign. Charles deprived the Senators of the College of Justice of the places which they had usually held in the Privy Council. There was much to be said for a change which separated the judiciary from the executive, but its effect was to make the Privy Council more and more a body of royal officials, and the appointment of five Bishops as Privy Councillors was a further step in the same direction. So complete was the control of the King over the Council, and so great were the powers of that body, that it is difficult to understand why Charles proposed to institute a permanent "Commission of Grievances," with powers analogous to those of the English Star Chamber, unless, indeed, the suggestion was made to provide something to give way on. The abandonment of the scheme did little to conciliate an opposition which was fast becoming national.

It was at this moment that Charles commenced his ecclesiastical revolution. The people had already shown

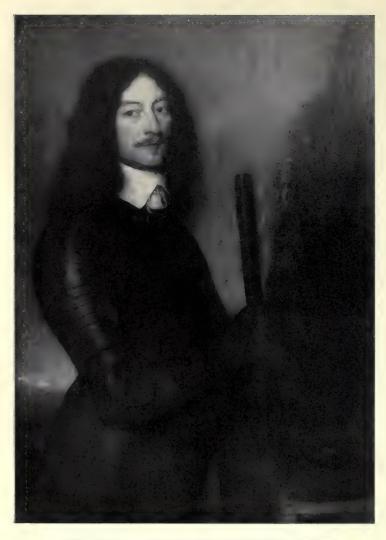
that they were not prepared to acquiesce in the royal government of the Church, and they were soon to prove their readiness to resist the King's pretensions on the battle-field. To this extent they were the champions of freedom. Yet, as we have seen, the ecclesiastical leaders were themselves committed to a propaganda of intolerance, and in the heat of the coming warfare the moderates were to go under. Much had to be done and suffered before the nation learned what manner of spirit it was of. But in the making of modern Scotland this is the foremost fact—that, right or wrong, inspired by the Spirit of Christ or by the ambitions of the disciples whom He rebuked, our seventeenth-century ancestors were determined to decide, without compulsion from without, the manner in which they were to worship God.

In his struggle over the Act of Revocation Charles had preferred an immediate triumph to a settlement by something like mutual consent. The impatience which marred the skill of his nephew, Prince Rupert, as a military commander was the great tactical disqualification of King Charles as a political leader. He never learned to wait. Satisfied of the integrity of his own intentions, he was unduly contemptuous of the conscientious opposition they evoked, and heedless of the misrepresentations which they frequently invited. Nor did he realize in time that his two kingdoms had become, in one sense, united, though not as his father had proposed to unite them. The growing Puritan party in England had found, temporarily, but none the less really, that the Presbyterians of Scotland were their brethren in the Lord. The movement which ultimately brought about the Civil War was an Anglo-Scottish league, inspired by the fear of Popery. The Solemn League and Covenant between the two kingdoms was afterwards to assume a

definite form, but the written documents mark not the beginning, but the end of the great Puritan association in which England and Scotland were alike concerned. The constitutional disputes between James and the Commons had been followed with a surprising amount of interest in Scotland: in the religious discussions of the early Parliaments of Charles the Scots were deeply concerned. They resented the want of success in the German War and in the Spanish War, and they shared the general indignation at the lending of English ships to Richelieu, and the subsequent failures before La Rochelle. For the King's financial and other difficulties they made no allowance. Above all, they distrusted Buckingham, and believed that he was inspiring the King to betray his trust as a Protestant Sovereign, "for he was a patron of all Papists, and a great enemie to all that had any smak of religion."

With this record behind him, Charles, who had for four years been governing England without a Parliament, paid his first royal visit to Scotland in 1633, and was crowned at Edinburgh. Seventeen years earlier, James had shocked Scottish feeling by his carvings of Apostles and patriarchs; Charles brought a rich tapestry "wherein the crucifix was curiously wrought," and to this crucifix the Bishops were seen to bow the knee. Laud, at this time Bishop of London, accompanied the King, and Laud was known in Scotland, as well as in England, to be the leader of the party suspected of Romanizing tendencies. "If ye part his religion in four," it was said in Scotland, "twa parts was Arminian, a third part Poperie, and scarce a fourth part was Protestant." The impression that he was at heart a Papist was increased by his refusal to swear to defend "the true Protestant Reformed Religion," as an honorary burgess of Perth, and by his famous remark when someone, looking at the





JAMES (GRAHAM), FIRST MARQUIS OF MONTROSE. Page 213.

Born 1612, hanged 1650.

From the painting by Honthorst in the possession of the Earl of Dalhousie.

Cathedral of Dunblane, lamented the "brave kirk" it had been before the Reformation: "What, fellow?" said Laud. "Deformation, not Reformation!" To the modern historian, as to the contemporary observer, Laud is the impressive figure in that memorable visit, and his presence can scarcely fail to be connected with the exaltation of the episcopate which was at this moment the characteristic note of the King's policy. In the Scottish Parliament, by an arrangement which can be traced back to the reign of Queen Mary, and which received a further development in 1612 from King James, the Lords of the Articles were elected by a different Estate from that which they represented. The lords temporal chose eight lords spiritual to sit on the Articles; these eight Bishops selected eight lords temporal, and the sixteen elected eight country gentlemen and eight burgesses. The lords spiritual formed the Estate which the King could trust most implicitly, and it was certain that the eight Bishops would make a choice of eight obedient nobles. In addition to these thirty-two elected members, there were eight great officers of State, and their presence reduced any possible minority to insignificance. The Bishops were the mainspring of the whole arrangement, a circumstance which impressed Laud so deeply that he regarded the Bishops' War as largely a protest against episcopal domination in the Estates. The Bills passed by the Articles in 1633 included one which gave legislative sanction to the Act of Revocation, and others which were intended to facilitate the King's religious policy. Charles forbade any discussion in full Parliament, and insisted, in spite of some protestation, that the Bills should be voted en bloc. Before the protest could be officially made, Charles dissolved Parliament. The scene is described by Row,* the Presbyterian historian:

^{*} John Row, born 1568, died 1646.

"And when the Articles came to be voted, the King perceaving that there would be some contrare to them, taketh a pen, and with his awin hand (an uncouth practise) noted the votes, whereby (no doubt) many were afraid to vote as otherwise they intended to doe. . . . Some of the nobilitie voted speciallie aganis the Articles concluded against the Kirk's bussines, but would have consented to other articles . . . yet being all putt together (a frequent Satanicall trick of Bishops), they behoved either to vote aganis all or then consent to all."

The ayes had it. "The Parliament ending to the King's contentment, the cannons shott in abundance from the Castell." The Bishops had successfully manipulated the Estates, and the triumph was not less theirs than the King's. Next year a new diocese of Edinburgh was created, and St. Giles was converted into "one fair spacious Cathedrall kirk" by the destruction of a partition wall which had been built half a century before. The new Bishop, William Forbes, was a man of learning and charity, but he created, in the few weeks he lived to hold the office, something like consternation, by preaching that "a Papist living and dying such may be saved," and that "Christ died for all intentionallie to redeem all." In 1635 Charles appointed Archbishop Spottiswoode as Chancellor of the kingdom, "ane rare thing, the lyke whereof had not been seen since the Reformation of Religion." It was a blow aimed at the nobility, who, since the Act of Revocation had given signs of restlessness, and the new Chancellor improved the occasion by pressing on a prosecution which had been instituted against Lord Balmerino for high treason in concealing a copy of a protest against the proceedings in the late Parliament. Balmerino was found guilty by a majority of the jury, but was released after a short imprisonment. "It had been a great wrong and injustice," Laud was reported to have said, "to have taken this nobleman's

life." The new Archbishop of Canterbury had no great faith in the wisdom of the Bishops of Scotland.

By all classes in Scotland the Government of Charles I. was now regarded as the rule of the Bishops, and the anti-episcopal feeling increased in intensity. But rebellion is a last resort, and Charles and Laud had yet to convince the nation of its necessity. James, though he had done his best to enforce the Five Articles of Perth. had been wise enough to drop his proposals for a new liturgy, though they had received the sanction of the Assembly of 1616, and he had refrained from ordering the ministers to wear surplices, although an Act of Parliament of 1609 had given him authority over "the apparel of Kirkmen." King James's Act did not go into detail, but when it was confirmed for King Charles in 1633 it contained a provision that all ministers should wear surplices for christening, burying, and administering the Sacrament of the Lord's Table. So great was the horror of the surplice that men began to talk of "blessed King James" who in his great wisdom had forborne to issue any such order. The fresh powers which Charles conferred on the Court of High Commission in 1634 must be used to the utmost if this Act was to be enforced. New duties were imposed upon it in 1635-36 by the issue of a Book of Canons, published by royal authority, and sanctioned neither by Parliament nor by Assembly. These new constitutions depended for their validity on the Royal Headship of the Church, and were based on the acceptance of an episcopal government, quite unlike the compromise which James had effected. They introduced the new office of a "preaching deacon," forbade all "unlawful conventicles," and left no room for the regular courts of the Church. The framework of the existing Church was thus destroyed, and there were numerous regulations which interfered with its accustomed order and ritual. Every preacher must be licensed by the Bishop; Holy Communion must be administered at Easter; no minister might presume "to conceive a prayer ex tempore under pain of deprivation"; Communion must be celebrated not before the pulpit but in the chancel. The magnitude of these changes may be judged from the fact that the law about kneeling at Communion had, except in Aberdeen, been widely ignored. In 1627 Row records that on Easter Sunday at Edinburgh "there were not above six or seven persons in all the town that kneeled, also some of the ministers kneeled not."

The Service Book, the use of which was enforced by the Canons, appeared in the summer of 1637. It had been known for seven or eight years that Charles contemplated its preparation, and it was generally believed to be the work of Laud. It was the English Prayer-Book, with a considerable number of minor alterations, and in some important respects it followed the First, instead of the Second Prayer-Book of Edward VI. Its deviations from the Elizabethan book were interpreted as sure signs of Popery, and were ascribed to Laud. We have Laud's own statement that the modifications most bitterly resented were the work of two of the Scottish Bishops, and did not meet with his own approval, and that he himself disliked the introduction of the book without the sanction of a General Assembly. This could not be known at the time; if it had been stated, it would probably not have been believed, for Laud's character was entirely misinterpreted; if it had been known and believed it would only have proved that the Scottish Bishops were better Papists than Laud himself, a conclusion not helpful to the book. As it was, "Laud's Liturgy" was received as the work of the great enemy of pure religion, and it was treated accordingly. Row's

description of the Litany as "more like unto conjuring nor prayers" indicates the bitterness of the feeling, even when no doctrinal issue arose. The "Popish-Inglish-Scottish-Masse-Service-Booke," he tells us, "is much more Popish nor the Inglish Booke, and much less Protestant, for severall words* in the Inglish Booke, which seem opposit to the corporall presence in the sacrament is left out in the Scottish Booke, and severall most Popish expressions are found in our book which are not at all in theirs." Row's punning challenge, "Let any one compare it with the Missale and they shall misse very little," may not have been consciously a caricature, for he was no expert in liturgical study, and it expresses the alarm of the time, an alarm closely connected with the similar disquietude prevailing in England. "Reconciliation with Popery is intended," wrote Samuel Rutherford from his Aberdeen prison, and Robert Baillie, lover of Bishops, was soon to have much before his eyes, in his Ayrshire manse, "the barricades of Paris, and the Catholick league of France." Baillie, as we have seen, was a Moderate, and he had opened the book in the hope of being able to accept it. "I am resolved," he wrote before its publication, "what I can digest as any ways tolerable with peace of conscience, not only in due time to receive myself, but to dispose others also, so far as I can by word and writ to receive quietly the same." His first perusal filled his mind with such a measure of grief that he was scarcely able to preach. Charles had alienated the middle party.

The people of Edinburgh were extremists from of old, and the occasion of the reading of the new liturgy in St. Giles's Church on Sunday, July 23, 1637, is one of

^{*} I.e., the second sentence in the words of administration of Holy Communion. The whole subject is discussed with much learning by the Rev. Professor Cooper in his edition of The Book of Common Prayer, commonly known as Laud's Liturgy, 1687."

the most familiar scenes of Scottish history. The outbreak has often been described as a protest against read prayers; but the prayers in Knox's Book of Common Order were read daily in St. Giles's, and they were read as usual that Sunday morning at eight o'clock. At ten o'clock the Bishop of Edinburgh entered the pulpit, and the Dean sat in the Reader's Desk. Each carried a new Service Book. The Dean began to read, and there followed a riot, the details of which have come down to us in confused and contradictory fashion. Two points are clear. It was led by women, and it was an anti-Poperv outburst. Baillie, who was in Edinburgh next day, says that the serving-maids began the tumult. They were accustomed to carry folding stools to church and to occupy them until their mistresses arrived in time to hear the sermon. We do not know who threw the first stool, nor is it certain that more than one stool was thrown: but no stool hit either the Dean or Bishop, and the suggestion that the serving-maids were prentices in women's clothes may therefore be readily dismissed. The cries which have come down to us are all associated with the Pope and the Mass. "Rome is entered upon us!" "Baal is entered upon us!" shouted the women. "Darest thou read Mass in my lug?" said one of them to a vouth who gave an "Amen" as a response. Baillie, with all his forebodings, was astonished at the violence of public feeling. "The whole people thinks Popery at the doors; the scandalous pamphlets which come daily new from England add oil to this flame; no man may speak anything in public for the King's part, except he would have himself marked for a sacrifice to be killed one day. I think our people possessed with a bloody devil, far above anything that ever I could have imagined, though the Mass in Latin had been presented."

The King and Privy Council alike failed to realize that

a revolution had begun, and it is difficult to censure their blindness, for one of the mysteries of the story is the rapid development of an Edinburgh riot into a national crisis. Baillie thought that it was madness to resist authority, deplored the "un-Christian humour" of the mob, and regretted that the leading ministers were not sufficiently zealous in reproving "the devill of their furie." The day after the outburst, the Privy Council forbade any public meeting, and before the next Sunday came round the Bishops prohibited the use of either the old or the new Service Book on Sundays or weekdays "till the King's Majesty's mind be known in this late tumult." It was a sign of weakness, but the Bishops had reason to be terrified by the violence of the feeling against them. Charles refused to lighten their burden. He ordered the Privy Council to punish the rioters, and the Bishops to proceed with the Service Book. Sunday, August 13, was appointed for its next public use, but by this time the movement had spread so widely throughout the country that it was obviously unwise to risk another outbreak in the capital. The Privy Council itself was divided in feeling, and the magistrates of Edinburgh did not dare to punish the women. Every minister in Scotland had been ordered, under pain of outlawry, to use the Service Book, but by September 20 the Privy Council was reduced to explaining that the Act referred "only to the buying, not reading," of the book, although Charles himself had just ordered strict conformity, and declined to consider an appeal for delay. Petitions were now succeeding riots as methods of protest, but the change did not make it any easier for the Government. Edinburgh was full of excited petitioners, and a document asking for relief "from the Service Book and all novations" was widely signed and conveyed to the King by the Duke of Lennox. Charles answered by ordering the removal of the Privy Council and the Court of Session from Edinburgh, and the suppression of a pamphlet against "the Inglish-Popish Ceremonies," and the Privy Council commanded all the petitioners to leave Edinburgh within twenty-four hours (October 18, 1637).

This order brought matters to something like a crisis. Under the leadership of Alexander Henderson, who ministered to a Fifeshire congregation in the old Norman Church at Leuchars, a new petition was drawn up. It protested not merely against the Service Book, but also against the Bishops, as the real authors of the disturbances. A great meeting was summoned at Edinburgh for November 15, but before that day came, the Privy Council, sitting at Linlithgow, made an agreement which lessened the number of strangers in Edinburgh, but gave something like official recognition to the protesters. It was suggested that the "great convocations" of petitioners should cease, and that representatives should be appointed. The method by which this was done indicates how national was the feeling, for the crowds who had flocked into Edinburgh behaved as if they were the Estates of the realm. "Each rank choosed commissioners . . . noblemen by themselves, the gentrie by themselves, the burrows by themselves, the ministers by themselves." They secured the Parliament House for their meetings, "sitting in four severall rooms at severall tables: hence they were called The Tables." A new executive machinery had been created. The King's answer to the petition came early in December. It declined to discuss the questions at issue while the royal authority was contemned, and it declared the royal abhorrence of Popery. The Tables replied by a demand for the removal of the Bishops from the Council, "seeing no man can be both judge and party." Charles would hear of no concession, and threatened The Tables with

the penalties of treason. With scarcely a day's delay they determined to adopt the ancient device of a Band or Covenant, familiar in the baronial intrigues of the Middle Ages, and possessing a nobler association with the history of the Reformation.

The King's threat had been proclaimed at Stirling on February 19, 1638. On the 22nd, "an advertisement was sent through all the kingdom, that all who loved the cause of God would repair to Edinburgh for prosecuting the course of intended Reformation which now they had taken in hand." Five days later the National Covenant was ready for signature. It was no new document, and the insistence upon an appearance of legality which characterizes it is in full accordance with the revolutionary methods of the seventeenth century. The National Covenant of 1638 was the Negative or King's Covenant of 1581, subscribed by King James himself, and it was a Covenant against Popery. The younger John Row, who continued his father's history from 1637 to 1639, made light of the denunciation of Popery which the King made in December, 1637. "The King needed not to clear himself of Popery, seeing that was not called in question." The ecclesiastical leaders who brought about the National Covenant could not afford to make such a concession. Popery was the cry which had least actual foundation, but which was best suited for their purpose. Their opponents must be identified with the Scarlet Woman. The real grievances, as it seems to us to-day, followed the recital of the King's Covenant. Recent ecclesiastical policy was shown to be incompatible with it, and the Covenant must be interpreted and understood to condemn these "novations and evils no less than if every one of them had been expressed" in it. The subscribers solemnly bound themselves "by the Great Name of the Lord Our God . . . to resist all

these contrary errors and corruptions," and denied any intention "to attempt anything that may turn to the dishonour of God or to the diminution of the King's greatness and authority." It was a moment of strong emotion, and the Covenant was so drawn as to secure the largest possible amount of national support. "I do not only believe," wrote Baillie, "that there is no word in it that makes against the King's full authority, so far as either religion or reason can extend it, or against the office of Bishops, or any power they have by any lawful Assembly or Parliament, or that by this write we are obliged to oppose any novation, or anything at all which is not contrare to God's word; not only I believe this, but has professed it so much before the whole meeting at Edinburgh, oft both in word and write, without the least appearance of contradiction of any." The National Covenant was in itself a comparatively moderate document, and it could be signed by many who had been content with the settlement of James VI. Nobody wanted to champion the unlucky Service-Book. "An angel from heaven would not be tolerated in Scotland," said Baillie, "if he defiled paper by defending it." All that the Covenanters as yet demanded was freedom to decide their own form of worship in accordance with what they believed to be the will of God. On March 1 the subscription began in Greyfriars' Church at Edinburgh, and there and throughout a large portion of the country the Covenant was signed by multitudes. The Highlands, of course, knew nothing of it, and Episcopalian Aberdeen refused to have anything to say to it.

Moderate as were the terms of the Covenant, the Bishops dared not abide its signature, and Spottiswoode and most of his episcopal colleagues fled to England. They were doubtless wise, for few of the leaders of the opposition would have agreed with Baillie that Episcopacy was still an open question. Charles, now thoroughly alarmed, appointed the Marquis of Hamilton as his Commissioner in Scotland, and, after some delay, authorized him to offer a compromise. "The King's will," says Baillie, speaking of September, 1638, "was exceedingly gracious in the most of our desires." The "unhappy books" were to be withdrawn; the High Commission Court was to be abolished; the Articles of Perth would be no longer insisted upon; a free General Assembly and a Parliament were to meet "at the times and places we could have desired." Charles seemed to be ready to surrender all for which he had hitherto contended. But complete surrender was never Charles's way, and the object of his conciliatory measures was clear enough. "Only one thing affrayes us," Baillie continues, "the subscription of another Covenant." Charles had decided that he must get rid of the National Covenant at any cost, and his aim was to persuade the Scots to accept another Covenant, also based upon the Covenant of 1581, but with a widely different conclusion. This new King's Covenant seemed, even to Baillie, to be "a very deep and dangerous plot," and the few who signed it were regarded as traitors to the cause.

The promised General Assembly met in Glasgow in November, 1638. If there was any "packing" upon this occasion, it was the work of the King's opponents. Spalding, the Aberdeen chronicler, tells that some of the Aberdeen representatives did not dare to go to Glasgow, and asserts that the High Church (the Cathedral) in which the Assembly met "was straitly guarded by the town, and none had entrance but he who had a token of lead, declaring he was a Covenanter." There was intense excitement on the opening day. Some of the members made such "din and clamour in the house of the

true God" as would have made Baillie send them downstairs with some precipitancy in his own house. "It is here alone . . . we might learn from Canterbury, yea, from the Pope, from the Turks or Pagans, modesty and manners." The excitement did not promise well for a calm consideration of the King's offer. The election of Alexander Henderson as Moderator gave Hamilton, the Commissioner, a foeman more than worthy of his steel; and the presence of lav members, which the King had not contemplated, made it certain that no accommodation was possible. The crisis came almost at once, for the Assembly insisted on proceeding to the trial of the Bishops, who had, without the royal consent, been cited to appear, and who declined to recognize the jurisdiction of the Assembly. The Moderator put the question, "Are we the Bishops' judges?" and before the vote was taken Hamilton made "a sad, grave, and sorrowful discourse. . . . This was the Commissioner's last passage," says Baillie. "He acted it with tears, and drew, by his speech, water from many eyes, as I think; well I wot much from mine; for then I apprehended the certainty inevitable of these tragedies which we are now in doing." Hamilton dissolved the Assembly in the King's name-precipitately, in Baillie's opinion; but it is difficult to agree with Baillie that, if Hamilton "had brought his divines to dispute, and upholden their courage by his countenance, readily the most part might have been moved to use a greater temper [restraint] than ever thereafter can be hoped for." As he left them, Hamilton begged the Assembly not to prolong that day's sitting, but to close it with prayer, and take no irrevocable step till the morrow. "In this plot, as in many others, we disappointed his wisdom," says Baillie, and he adds that, if the members had not been well selected, a division of opinion would probably have arisen. "Here it was

especiallie that the fruit of the wise election of the members of the Assemblie did kythe [appear]."

The leaders, who had demanded a "free Assembly" had learned the lesson which James VI. had taught them, and without a dissentient voice it was agreed to continue the meeting, and to proceed to the trial of the Bishops. They were all deposed, and many of them were excommunicated. Any scandal against their private character was greedily accepted. "No kinde of cryme which can be gotten proven of a Bishop will now be concealed," Baillie had written in anticipation of the trial. Vengeance on the absent Bishops was the least important part of the work of the Assembly. All the legislation of James and Charles which aimed at the introduction of Episcopacy was swept away, and the acts of the last six General Assemblies were declared to be null and void. On December 20 the Assembly dissolved, singing the Psalm which recommends brethren to dwell together in unity. The complete victory of the extreme party had made war inevitable and immediate.

The Scots were ready for war, and the King was not. The Tables had begun in March, 1638, to collect subscriptions, which were in many cases just as voluntary as the benevolences of the Tudor sovereigns of England. After the Glasgow Assembly, says Baillie, "in all the land we appointed noblemen and gentlemen for commanders, divided so many as had been officers abroad among the shires, put all our men who could bear arms to frequent drillings." Among those who had been officers abroad was Alexander Leslie, who had earned distinction under Gustavus Adolphus in Germany, and who became commander of the Covenanting Army. While Charles was still meditating his plan of campaign, Leslie captured Edinburgh Castle "in halfe ane hour" of a March afternoon (1639); Dumbarton fell after service

on "a fasting Sunday"; Stirling was already in friendly hands. The great enemy in Scotland was the Marquis of Huntly, and the young Earl of Montrose was sent to meet him in Aberdeenshire. In the preceding summer, when the Covenant, already subscribed by thousands of willing hands, was being forced upon the recalcitrant, Montrose had attempted to compel the people of Aberdeen to accept it. Now he was armed with more convincing arguments. The city looked in vain to Huntly for protection, and on March 30 Montrose entered Aberdeen, from which its royalist scholars and divines had fled. "The discretion of that generous and noble youth was but too great," is Baillie's lament, as he records how "a great sum was named as a fine to that unnatural city, but all was forgiven." Huntly came to terms, and was taken a prisoner to Edinburgh, but his allies defeated some Covenanters at Turriff, and seized Aberdeen. The "Trot of Turriff" (May 14) was the first skirmish of the Great Civil War. On the 25th Aberdeen was again at Montrose's mercy, but he massacred only the dogs, which had been decorated with blue ribbons in derisive imitation of the Covenanting soldiers.

While Montrose was converting the North, a well-trained Covenanting Army, with Leslie at its head, marched to Dunse Law, but did not cross the Border into England. Charles, with such forces as he could collect, had gone northwards to meet him, and in June the two armies were facing each other near Berwick. "Our lieutenants were almost all soldiers who had served oversea in good charges," says Baillie, and he tells how the whole army was resolute for battle. Each company had "a brave new colour," on which, over the arms of Scotland, were embroidered, in letters of gold, words to be memorable in Scottish story, For Christ's Crown and Covenant. The King's raw troops were no match for

veterans of the German wars, but the Scottish leaders were anxious to avoid bloodshed. Baillie's reasons are interesting: "Had the King incurred any skaith [injury], or been disgraced with a shameful flight, our hearts had been broken for it, and likely all England behoved to have risen in revenge." There was a feeling that their English friends, "for all their good words long ago," were lukewarm in their cause. So they resolved to ask for terms. "Had we been ten times victorious in set battles, it was our conclusion to have laid down our arms at his feet, and on our knees presented nought but our first supplications. We had no other end of our wars; we sought no crowns, we aimed not at lands and honours; we desired but to keep our own in the service of our Prince. . . . Had our throne been void, and our voices sought for the filling of Fergus's chair, we would have died ere any other had sitten down on that fatal marble but Charles alone." * Between such loval rebels and a Sovereign in Charles's straits some agreement must be possible, though it might prove to be temporary, and on June 18 they entered into the Pacification of Berwick. Both armies were to be disbanded, but no question was settled. A General Assembly and a Parliament were to meet in August; the day of reckoning was postponed. It was an evil omen that while the Pacification was being signed, Montrose was defeating the Gordons at the Bridge of Dee. For the third time that year he spared the town of Aberdeen. "For all our sparing, yet that country's malicious disloyalty seems not to be remedied," is Baillie's lament. Scotland was not united.

Assembly and Parliament met, but the situation was not altered. The Assembly ratified all that the Glasgow Assembly had done, and Parliament ratified the Acts of

^{*} Baillie's Letters and Journals, i., p. 215.

Assembly. The King attempted an unusually futile manœuvre. He gave his sanction to the decisions of the Assembly, but refused the royal assent to the Bills passed by Parliament to rescind the Acts that established Episcopacy. Charles was reserving a weapon against a day that was never to arrive—the day when an English Parliament would help him to coerce Scotland. The Assembly of 1639 is memorable for a development in Presbyterian policy which deprived the National Covenant of much of its nobility of spirit. It seemed to the leaders of the Church to be the natural and logical result of the royal concessions that the King and the whole nation should be united in one irrevocable covenant with the Almighty, and the Assembly asked the Privy Council to decree that the Covenant "should be subscribed by all the King's subjects of what rank or quality soever." The constitutional sentiments of which much had been heard in recent years would suggest that the Scottish Parliament was the proper authority to enact such a resolution, and the Estates had vet to meet. But to bring the question before Parliament would have been to run the risk of defeat, and the concurrence of the Council was assured. "Many thought the King did well, as also the Council, for to make a virtue of necessity," says Gordon, the royalist historian, but this consideration brought small comfort to his beloved city of Aberdeen. Through the year 1640, the process of compelling subscription went on, and the University of Aberdeen (King's College) was "purged" of the Episcopalian leaven-"these eminent divines of Aberdeen, either dead, deposed, or banished, in whom fell more learning than was left behind in all Scotland besides at that time." The unhappy expedient of expelling University teachers and parish ministers for nonconformity was adopted, on a large scale, by the Presbyterian leaders. Military forces, under the Earl





MONTROSE AND HIS ARMY ENTER ARGYLL IN WINTER (1644-45). Page 222. From the painting by Str George Reid, P.R.S.A.

Marischal and General Monro, were sent to Aberdeen, and the Earl of Argyll subdued a portion of the Highlands.

While the Covenanters were dragooning Scottish recusants into submission, the second Bishops' War broke out, and, as in the previous year, Leslie's army could meet the King on more than equal terms. The Short Parliament had failed to supply Charles with men or money. England was clearly friendly, and the army of the Covenant adopted a bolder strategy than in 1639. On August 20, Leslie and Montrose crossed the Tweed. easily dispersed a royalist force at Newburn, and entered Newcastle, where the Scots lived for many months "at ease and peace" on contributions extorted from the city. the county of Northumberland, and the Bishopric of Durham. The possession of Newcastle enabled them to control the London coal-supply for the coming winter, and their presence in the North of England gave the King no choice but to summon the Long Parliament. Meanwhile, Charles agreed at Ripon that the Scots should remain at Newcastle, drawing their provisions as before, until a final agreement should be made. The King and his advisers hoped that the House of Commons and the City of London would be alarmed by a Scottish invasion, and would support him in his attempt to get rid of them on the best terms. But the Commons regarded the Scottish army in the North as the strongest guarantee of English liberties, and the Londoners refused to be terrified by the peril to their coal-supply. Scottish Commissioners, including Alexander Henderson and Robert Baillie, came to London in November, 1640. They were in close contact with the Presbyterian party in the Commons and in the City of London, whose strength was out of all proportion to that of Presbyterians in the country generally. "All here are wearie of Bishops," wrote Baillie on his arrival. "The Bishops will go through Westminster Hall . . . and no man cap to them. God is making here a new world." The great events which the Scottish Commissioners witnessed during their residence in London all seemed to them to point to the same conclusion. They saw the destruction of the machinery of prerogative government by the abolition of the three Courts of Star Chamber, High Commission, and the Council of the North. They watched the trial of Strafford, of which Baillie has left a memorable record, and rejoiced in his execution. They heard of the impeachment of Laud with contemptuous indifference. "As



EDINBURGH CASTLE FROM THE WEST PORT AS IT APPEARED ABOUT 1640.

for poor Canterburie, he is so contemptible that all casts him by out of their thoughts." They had pleasant conversation with "that sweet Prince," and hoped to supply him with better advisers. Their own negotiations were protracted, partly because the English Commons were determined that the Scots army should not be disbanded while Strafford's head was on his shoulders. After his death, it became almost equally desirable that the disbandment should take place before Charles paid his proposed visit to Scotland, and the treaty was ratified in August. All the Scottish demands were conceded, and the expenses of their army were paid.

On his return from London, Alexander Henderson

presided over a General Assembly at Edinburgh, and on July 28, 1641, he enunciated a policy which was inspired by his experience in London, and was destined to create a chapter of British history. "The Moderator did fall on a notable motion, of drawing up a Confession of Faith, a Catechism, a Directory for all parts of the public worship, and a Platform of Government, wherein possibly England and we might agree." The idea was eagerly welcomed, and in that hour was begotten the Solemn League and Covenant.

CHAPTER VIII

THE SOLEMN LEAGUE

THE Scots, having enforced the Covenant on those portions of Scotland which they knew to be Episcopalian, were now ready to aid in compelling assent to it in England, which they believed to be Presbyterian. error into which Henderson and Baillie had been led by their London experiences was a natural one, but behind it lay the fatal delusion that truth can prevail only when the sword is on its side. The framers of the National Covenant boasted of "a willing people in the day of Thy power"; when they proceeded to compel involuntary signatures to a solemn pact with the Almighty, they entered upon a path that led to misery and defeat. The weapons which had just proved powerless in the King's hands could only be temporarily effectual in their own, and were to be worse than useless when they were forced, two years later, upon an English Parliament which was already losing the strength to wield them.

The General Assembly of 1641 had scarcely risen when Charles entered Edinburgh. In spite of the efforts alike of the English Commons and of the Scottish Commissioners, he had achieved his object of reaching Scotland while the Scots still possessed an army in being; but this was the sole success of his visit. He arrived at Edinburgh on a Saturday (August 14); next morning Henderson preached him "a good sermon" at Holy-

rood, and reproved him for not returning to hear another in the afternoon. "He promised not to do so again," went to prayers regularly twice a day, and never hinted at the "want of a Liturgy or any Ceremonies." Compliance was the note of his visit. He ratified, with what was regarded as undue haste, everything that required ratification; the Covenant, with the oath and bond against which he had striven so desperately, was read, in his presence and approved; he yielded to a demand that the Officers of State, the Privy Council, and the Lords of Session should be appointed with the sanction of the Estates. There was a scramble for the great offices, and a scramble for the lands of Bishopries, but Charles gained nothing from neither. He never had any chance of obtaining the assistance he wanted against the English, for the Scots were waiting "till we see what the Lord will do in England" before considering the details of their own ecclesiastical settlement, and a single mysterious occurrence deprived him of any chance of forming a Royalist party in the North. Montrose had now gone over to the King's side, and was a prisoner in Edinburgh Castle. Scotland was then, and has been ever since, divided upon the question of his motives; for ourselves we are willing to accept the considered judgment of the great English historian, whose patience and tolerance have added so much to our knowledge of this period of Scottish history:

"Montrose saw in the political predominance of the Presbyterian clergy all that he had detested in the political predominance of the Bishops, and he saw that Argyll was seizing under Parliamentary forms that usurped supremacy of a subject which he had detected in Hamilton when he had managed Scotland under the forms of monarchy as the favourite of the King. His own position and character alienated him from the dominant party. As a nobleman whose influence and

estates could never vie with those of the greatest landowners, he scorned to submit to the Argylls and Hamiltons, whose estates were far more extended than his own, and he found himself in unison with other nobles of the second class, not only in repudiating their authority, but in wishing to emancipate the life and mind of Scotland from the grinding pressure of the Presbyterian clergy, of which the greater nobles were able to make use. Montrose, in short, was attempting to anticipate the freer life of modern Scotland."*

Montrose had left the Covenanters, but Hamilton had joined them and had taken the Covenant. One October day, while Charles was at Holyrood, it was rumoured all over Edinburgh that a plot had just been discovered for the kidnapping and possible murder of Hamilton, his brother, the Earl of Lanark, and Argyll. Next day, the three fled from Edinburgh, Charles went to the Parliament House, "complained much of the vile slander Hamilton's needless flight and fear had brought upon him," and demanded an immediate trial in open Parliament. A committee of investigation was appointed. It "found nothing that touched the King," but the mystery was never solved, and remains insoluble. The news of the Irish Rebellion put an end to the discussion of "the Incident," and Charles prepared to leave Scotland. Argyll returned to Edinburgh and was made a Marquis; Alexander Leslie became Earl of Leven. There was something in the nature of a general amnesty, and Montrose was released from his prison.

On November 18 Charles took his departure from Edinburgh, leaving his opponents laden with honours and the spoils of the Bishoprics, and supreme in the State. For the next two years the Scottish chroniclers are chiefly interested in the course of events in England.

^{*} S. R. Gardiner's article on Montrose in the Dictionary of National Biography.

The local Church Courts expended great energy in the persecution of Papists, and the General Assembly of 1642 significantly prayed for uniformity of religion throughout His Majesty's three kingdoms. It appointed a commission to represent ecclesiastical interests in negotiations with the King, and to act with the Privy Council and the "Conservators of Peace," appointed by the Parliament. Both the King and the English Parliament desired to secure assistance from Scotland, and the result of their communications was a feeble effort at mediation on the part of the Scots in the beginning of 1643. They found both parties "intractable," complains Baillie, innocently wondering at the wilful perversity of human nature. Montrose, who knew what the end must be, went to see the Queen at York and offered to secure Scotland for the King while yet there was time, but Charles decided to trust to the diplomacy of Hamilton, who was again his agent in Edinburgh. What Montrose had foreseen soon came to pass. In the summer of 1643 a Convention of the Estates of Scotland met at Edinburgh without the royal sanction. The English Parliament invited the "Christian wisdom and brotherly affection of the Scottish nation and State to consider how by their concurrent advice and assistance the faction of Popish Bishops and other malignants of this kingdom may be suppressed," and announced the summoning of an Assembly of Divines at Westminster to bring about "the reformation in Church ceremonies and discipline so much longed for." Learned and godly divines from Scotland were invited to take parts in its deliberations. The General Assembly met in the beginning of August, and Parliament and Assembly alike discussed the English proposals. English Commissioners came to Edinburgh, and the essential difference between the two countries soon became apparent. "The English," says Baillie,

"were for a civil League, we for a religious Covenant." The alliance could not be maintained for constructive purposes, though for a time it might meet the necessities of the English Parliament, which was now in grave need of military assistance. The Scots were not prepared to take up the original quarrel of the Parliament with the King, they even talked of entering England as "friends to both, without siding altogether with the Parliament." But they were prepared to fight for the cause of covenanted uniformity between the two kingdoms. That, or nothing, the English must accept. Alarmed by the recent successes of the Royalists, they did accept it, and the Scots got their full price-on paper. The Solemn League and Covenant bound the three nations of England, Scotland, and Ireland to swear, "each one of us for himself, with our hands lifted up to the Most High God," to "endeavour to bring the Churches of God in the three kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, confession of faith, form of Church government, directory for worship and catechizing"; to "endeavour the extirpation" of Popery, Prelacy, and schism; to "preserve and defend the King's Majesty's person and authority in the preservation and defence of the true religion, and liberties of the kingdoms"; and to bring to trial and "condign punishment" all enemies of the Solemn League and Covenant. It was ratified by the Parliament and by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster and "ordained to be solemnly taken in all places throughout the Kingdom of England and the Dominion of Wales." The General Assembly saw to its subscription in Scotland.

In return for this concession the Scots agreed to send an army of over 20,000 men into England, the cost of its maintenance being paid by the English. They did not underestimate the value of their assistance. "Surely,"

says Baillie, "it was a great act of faith in God, and huge courage and unheard of compassion, that moved our nation to hazard their own peace and venture their lives and all, for to save a people irrecoverably ruined both in their own and all the world's eyes." Leven's army entered England on January 19. By that date the Scottish divines had been at Westminster for some months. Henderson and Baillie were of the number, and Baillie's letters show us how it was gradually borne in upon him that if Presbytery were to be established in England at all it must be by a tour de force. The English divines were Parliamentary nominees, and the Commons watched the proceedings of the Assembly with a jealous eye. No political party in England had any intention of allowing Church Courts to obtain the powers they exercised in Scotland. The Scottish Assembly of 1643 had opposed "the keeping of a door open in England to Independencie. In this we were peremptor." Now Baillie and his friends found that the "unhappie Independents" were likely "to spoil all." While the Scottish divines were struggling to prevent the Independents from "mangling" the rites of the Church, and were "disputing every inch of their ground," the Scottish army was obtaining no opportunity of distinguishing itself. The army leaders more than once found the explanation of their want of success in "God's anger at the Parliament and Assembly for their neglect of establishing of religion." The divines interpreted otherwise the ways of Providence. "We oft told them the truth, we had no hope of any progress here, till God gave them victories, and then, we doubted not, all would run well both in Parliament and Assembly." The Parliament was beginning to question the Divine Right of Presbytery, when early in July (1644) came the good news of the victory of Marston Moor. "Behold, in a moment, when our

credit was beginning sensibly to decay, God has come in." If Marston Moor was not entirely the work of "our army" as Baillie supposed, the Scots had contributed greatly to the success of the day, and it was in no small measure the result of their intervention that the North of England was now in the power of the Parliament. But Marston Moor did not solve the problems of the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster. Months of debate had yet to elapse before the divines and the English Parliament could come to an agreement. In January, 1645, the two Houses passed an ordinance approving the Assembly's Directory for Public Worship; in the autumn they ordered the establishment of Presbyterian Government and discipline, but by this time power was already passing away from the Parliament at Westminster, and the new rulers of England were the deadly enemies of covenanted uniformity.

In the winter which followed the Battle of Marston Moor, fruitless negotiations with the King, known as the Treaty of Uxbridge, proved conclusively that there was no hope of peace on the terms which alone would satisfy the Scots. While the discussion was going on, the great step was taken which resulted in the military overthrow of the royalist party. Parliament, in February, 1645, sanctioned Cromwell's scheme for organizing an army on a New Model, and the Self-Denving Ordinance, which followed in April, effectually destroyed the control of the two Houses over the forces which fought in their name. In June the New Model Army, under Cromwell's leadership, gained the decisive victory of Naseby without Scottish help. "We hope the back of the malignant partie is broken," wrote Baillie when the news reached London; "some feares the insolence of others, to whom alone the Lord has given the victory of that day." There was good reason for fear, for, on the

battle-field of Naseby, Cromwell wrote some memorable words to the Speaker of the House of Commons: "Honest men served you faithfully in this action. . . . He that ventures his life for the liberty of his country, I wish he trust God for the liberty of his conscience, and you for the liberty he fights for." The Scottish divines at Westminster had long known that Cromwell aimed at the toleration of Independents. Such a toleration was incompatible with the Solemn League and Covenant. now seemed probable that he might be able to compel assent to his policy, and Baillie urged his countrymen to strong measures: "It was never more necessare to haste up all possible recruits to our army." Within three months of the date of Naseby a large portion of the army had to return to Scotland, and the Presbyterians in the Commons and in the City of London had soon to combat, unaided, with the new military force of Independency.

The Scottish troops were recalled to defend the Lowlands of Scotland from the Royalists under Montrose. After the fulfilment of his prophecy, when Leven's army was already across the Tweed, Montrose had received from the King a commission as his Lieutenant-General in Scotland. In April, 1644, he occupied Dumfries, and made an unsuccessful attempt on the Lowlands. Charles showed his confidence by the gift of a Marquisate, and in August, Montrose, disguised as a groom, made his way, with two companions, from Carlisle to Perth. He failed to rouse the Gordons and the episcopal gentry of the north-east, but some 1,600 Irishmen flocked to his standard. Charles had arranged with the Marquis of Antrim to send an Irish army to Scotland, and this small force was the only result of the agreement. Many of them were of Scottish blood, and their commander was a Highland chief, Alastair Macdonald, who, as the representative of the Macdonalds of Islay, had a blood-feud

with the Campbells of Argyll. Spalding, the Royalist historian of Aberdeen, relates how this "wise and valiant Macdonald," after ravaging forty miles of Campbell country, spared the town of Inverness, and made his way to Badenoch, where he increased his army by about a fourth. Montrose met him at Blair Athol, and obtained the support of some of the Perthshire clans who hated Argyll. There were now about 3,000 infantry at Montrose's disposal; he immediately led them to attack a force, greatly superior in numbers, but in numbers alone, under Lord Elcho. On September 1 he gained his first victory at Tippermuir near Perth, and captured the town with "little debate and small blood." Some of the Highlanders who had recently joined him returned home, but their place was taken by Lowland gentlemen who had disapproved of Huntly's defection from the royal cause-among them, the Earl of Airlie and two of his sons. Montrose marched from Perth to Aberdeen, now under Covenanting government, and fought a battle in the streets of the city. So complete was the reversal of the circumstances of the beginning of the war that Lord Lewis Gordon was one of the leaders on the Covenanting side. Montrose had urged the magistrates to surrender, or, at all events, to send old men, women, and children to a place of safety. His letter closed with a warning that "those who stay expect no quarter," and when the fighting was over, he was either unable or unwilling to restrain his followers. It was believed in Aberdeen that he had promised them the plunder of the town, and after the battle he "returned to his camp, leaving the Irish killing, robbing, and plundering . . . at their pleasure. . . . The wife durst not cry nor weep at her husband's slaughter before her eyes, nor the mother for the son, nor daughter for father; if they were heard, they were presently slain also." For three days the "savage Irish" worked their

will, even while Montrose, at the market cross of this Royalist town, was making proclamation of letters patent which promised pardon to penitent subjects of the King.

From Aberdeen Montrose moved by Rothiemurchus to Blair Athol, whence his ally, Macdonald, went to the West to obtain the assistance of some of the Macdonald clans. Argyll had followed Montrose to Aberdeen, where his men lived upon free quarter, "a new grief" to that unfortunate town. From Aberdeen he continued his slow pursuit to Athol, whence his enemy turned eastward into Forfarshire, "where he purchased many friends," and traversed the Mearns to within a few miles of Aberdeen. Crossing the Dee near Drum, Montrose marched by Monymusk to Strathbogie, and thence to Fyvie Castle. Argyll had made his way from Athol to the east coast and he led his large army by Aberdeen to Inverurie, where he heard that Montrose was at Fyvie. The scene now changes with marvellous rapidity. Argyll's attack was beaten off, and Montrose was back in Strathbogie before it could be renewed-"a matter marvellous and wrought by God's own finger," says Spalding, who in spite of the sack of Aberdeen is proud of the exploits of "this valiant, noble man with so few men and wanting the assistance of his noble captain, Alexander Macdonald." The persistent Argyll followed up and wasted Strathbogie, while Montrose rushed on to Athol; then he gave up the pursuit, and returned to the more congenial atmosphere of a Provincial Assembly at Aberdeen, where a Covenanting army was quartered. "Thus are these northern parts grievously borne down . . . by order of the Estates and good Argyll." From Aberdeen Argyll went to Edinburgh, where he "got small thanks for his service against Montrose." At Edinburgh he heard of Montrose's sudden descent into his own country. Macdonald had rejoined the great Marquis at Blair Athol, bringing with him a contingent of Western Highlanders who were. above all else, the foes of the Campbells. For six weeks Montrose and his Macdonalds (Irish and Scottish) ravaged the Campbell country, and it was not until, in the end of January, he marched northwards towards Inverness, that Argyll sallied out of Inverary and took up a position at Inverlochy. Another army, under Lord Seaforth, was waiting for Montrose near Loch Ness, and, although Argyll's forces were about double his own, he turned southwards and made a rapid dash on the Campbells. The victory of Inverlochy dispersed not only Argyll's 3,000 men, but Seaforth's 5,000, and Montrose sent the King, then engaged in the Uxbridge negotiations, a promise that by the end of the summer of 1645 he would leave a subdued Scotland to make the rebels in England "feel the just rewards of rebellion."

From Inverlochy Montrose marched to Elgin, burning and plundering as he went. There he was joined by Seaforth and some of the Gordons. Aberdeen was once more in grave peril, but Montrose promised the terrified citizens that they should suffer no further harm, and, without entering the town, he plundered the country from Elgin to Forfarshire. The Church excommunicated him, and the Estates "resolved to have him living or dead." They no longer trusted to the military capacity of Argyll, but sent two competent Generals, Baillie and Hurry, who barred Montrose's further progress. Seaforth deserted him, and large numbers of the Highlanders returned home with their booty. With about 600 foot and 200 horse he seized Dundee. Baillie was close at hand, with a large army, and it required all Montrose's skill to escape disaster. Leaving Dundee unspoiled, he hurried northwards by night, but, divining that Baillie would attempt to outmarch and intercept him, he turned

back and made for the Perthshire hills, which he reached in safety. Baillie remained at Perth, and Hurry went to Inverness. Montrose, by another rapid movement, got out of Baillie's reach, and, reinforced by a body of Gordons, defeated Hurry at Auldearn (May 9), while Baillie ravaged Athol. Montrose then established himself on Speyside, and after a dash into Forfarshire gave battle to Baillie at Alford on the Don (July 2), and completely defeated him. Reinforcements came from the Highlands, and at last Montrose was able to make his way to the centre of Scotland. At Kilsyth, on August 14, he defeated the Covenanters, his task being rendered easier by the amateur generalship of a Committee of the Estates, which had practically superseded Baillie. The victory became a massacre, and it was with difficulty that Montrose restrained his men from the sack of Glasgow.

The news of Auldearn had led Leven to post his Scottish army idly in Westmorland during the campaign which preceded Naseby. Thence he had gone to the Siege of Hereford, and he was there when Montrose, by his victory at Kilsyth, made himself master of Scotland. It was immediately decided to raise the siege, for David Leslie, Leven's nephew, who had taken the Scottish cavalry to Nottingham in pursuit of the King, had marched with his whole force to meet Montrose, and Charles was now on his way to Hereford with 3,000 horse. Leven's recall to Scotland had been decided upon, when his nephew in one battle destroyed the power of Montrose. That power had shrunk to small proportions before David Leslie could reach Scotland. The Highlanders once more deserted him; the Gordons again proved faithless. The Lowland and Border gentry who joined him brought no following with them. Unasunted, he made his way southwards to join the King, and on

September 13, David Leslie, with 4,000 horse, found him at Philiphaugh, with some 500 Irish foot-soldiers and double that number of cavalry. The Irishmen proved loyal, but only about 150 horsemen gave Montrose any real support, and after two brave charges he fled from the field. A butchery "more horrible than any that had followed upon any of Montrose's victories" * stained Leslie's laurels on his great day. An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth would have been a code of mercy at Philiphaugh. The defenders of Christ's Crown and Covenant slaughtered in cold blood 300 Irish women and children, and fifty soldiers whose lives they had promised to spare. Provocation had not been wanting, for Montrose's Irish had slain men "with no more feeling of compassion and with the same careless neglect that they kill a hen or capon for their supper," and the Ulster massacres had created a feeling against Irish Roman Catholics similar to that which in more recent days the massacre of Cawnpore aroused against the Sepoys. Yet mere revenge can never be justified, and it is not to the honour of Scotland that for the slaughter at Philiphaugh excuse and palliation have often taken the place of that "undying penalty which history has the power to inflict on wrong."

The news of Philiphaugh came as "the great and seasonable mercies of God" to the Scottish divines at Westminster, and Robert Baillie—who, after the defeat of his namesake at Kilsyth, had been fearing for the safety of his dear ones at Glasgow—was now rejoicing in the hope that God would "call back the destroying angel and persecute the cruel enemy till he be no more." The prayer was answered, for Montrose was not again able to menace Covenanting Scotland; and, though the English Royalists held out during the winter of 1645-46, they

^{*} Gardiner, Great Civil War, vol. ii., p. 856.



T. & R. Annan & Sons

ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL, FIRST MARQUIS OF ARGYLE. Page 214.

Born 1598, became leader of the Covenanters, supported the English Parliament during the Civil War; beheaded in 1661.

From the portrait in the possession of Sir William Gordon-Cumming, Bart.



could not face a summer campaign. In May, 1646, the King surrendered to the Scottish army near Newark, and Baillie was confirmed in his belief that he would speedily see Presbytery "set up, in spite of the devil." There was now no delusion that England wanted the Covenant. Baillie was sure that it was a Divine thing, because "so much resistance was made to it by men of all sorts." But, apart altogether from the Royalist reaction which was coming, the Independents in the Army were by this time too strong for the Parliament, and the Independents hated the hierarchy of Church Courts and their control over personal morality as much as they hated Prelacy and Metropolitical Visitations. The one chance that remained to the Parliament was to get rid of the Covenant, and to grant to Independents the toleration which the Scottish divines believed to be "the Devil's masterpiece." If the two Houses had given security for liberty of conscience and arrears of pay,* the army would have remained their obedient servant to disband. They adopted no such policy. From the moment that the King became a prisoner in the hands of the Scots, intolerance grew stronger at Westminster. There was, of course, a chance that the King might accept at Newcastle the terms that he had refused at Uxbridge. Through the summer of 1646, Baillie waited with anxious impatience for the news that Alexander Henderson had persuaded the King to take the Covenant. "The great God," he wrote to Henderson, "help you to soften that man's heart, lest he ruin himself and us with him." Time passed, and the Scottish representatives at Westminster became almost desperate, though Baillie, who could not bring himself to believe "that Episcopacy was ever adhered to on any conscience," hoped to the end that Charles would come to understand that "the

^{*} Cf. Firth's Cromwell, pp. 157, 158.

Sectaries are his extremely malicious enemies." But Charles remained a "full Canterburian," and before the end of 1646 it was clear that nothing could be expected from the conferences at Newcastle. The Scottish army, now thoroughly unpopular, could not remain in England, and to take the King to Scotland would have been to re-create the Royalist party north of the Tweed. The Scots might have let Charles escape, to return with what foreign aid he could, but they chose to surrender him to the English Parliament, on condition of being paid a portion of the arrears due to them. They were in a difficult position, and it is not a pretty story; but it is more just to say that the English bought him than that the Scots sold him. The agreement included a stipulation that no harm should come to the royal person.

Covenanted Uniformity, for which the Scots had crossed the Tweed, was now just as likely to be established in England as it was in Ireland; the Solemn League had provided for both. The Scottish divines brought from Westminster a Confession of Faith, which, when the long struggle ended with the Revolution, became legally binding, in every detail, upon the Church, and remained so till the twentieth century; a Directory for Public Worship, which soon ceased to be followed; an English metrical version of the Psalms, which has become distinctly Scottish; and two Catechisms, of which the shorter (prepared "for such as are of weaker capacity") was to occupy so large a place in religious instruction that a knowledge of it became a test of Scottish nationality.

"The Solemn League and Covenant Cost Scotland blood, cost Scotland tears."

It is not easy to show, as Burns goes on to assert, that it brought also "sacred freedom," although this might be said of the National Covenant. The good which it accomplished is perhaps not unfairly summarized in the theological training and mental discipline of the Shorter Catechism.

We have not yet completed the tale of its blood and tears. In the spring of 1647, the English Parliament was made to understand its own impotence, and in June the person of the King was seized by the army. The Parliament, in Baillie's view, became a committee of the army, and the Scots began to place their hopes in "the King's unparalleled wilfulness." The Heads of Proposals, offered by the army to the King, they regarded with horror, for it "gives to the King much of his desire in bringing back Bishops and Books, in putting down our Covenant and Presbytery, in giving ease to Malignants and Papists." Charles was foolish enough to refuse the great opportunity offered him by the army, and he entered once more into negotiations with the Scots, who were united in their dislike to the turn that affairs had taken in England. "That Scotland at this time has a just cause of war against the sectarian army in England and their adherents, none of us doth question," says Baillie, speaking for the Covenanting party. But whether a war was expedient as well as just was a different question, and the answer depended upon the terms that could be obtained from the King, a prisoner in the Isle of Wight. Three Scottish Commissioners to the English Parliament (Loudoun, Lanark, and Lauderdale) persuaded Charles to agree to retain Presbytery in Scotland, to establish it in England for three years, and to persecute the Independents. With these promises they returned to Scotland, to place before the Scottish Parliament proposals for an invasion of England. To Baillie and his friends it seemed that the Engagement (as the agreement was called) provided no "security for religion," and they pointed out that the King was "as much for Episcopacy

and as averse from our Covenant as ever." They were, they said, "most cordial for a war against the sectaries of England for the vindication of our Covenant," but they would not join with English "Malignants" to restore an uncovenanted Sovereign. The Estates thought otherwise. "Never so many noble men present in any of our Parliaments," says Baillie-"near fifty earls and lords. Among whom were but eight or nine for our way. . . . All the rest, with more than the half of the Barons [country gentlemen], and almost the half of the burgesses, especially the greater towns, Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, Aberdeen, St. Andrews, Linlithgow, ran in a string" in favour of the Engagement. Hamilton, now a Duke, was their leader. The Scottish nobles were doubtless alarmed by the progress of the Republican movement in England, and the attacks of the Levellers upon the House of Lords. The Act of Revocation was a thing of the past. Charles would never try to enforce it, and they might safely return to their allegiance. By a large majority, the Estates resolved to make war on England, if the helpless English Parliament should not immediately accomplish the release of the King and carry out the provisions of the Solemn League. Compulsory subscription had become the fashion of the day, and Hamilton's party passed an Act forcing "all the subjects of the kingdom to subscribe their readiness with life and estate to further the execution of the acts of this Parliament . . . also to declare that the execution of the acts of this Parliament are the most necessary and fittest means to remeed our troubles and preserve religion." Those who, like Baillie, resolved "neither to join with malignants nor sectaries," were indeed apt to "fall into great inconvenients."

The Engagement was bitterly and widely opposed throughout the country, but on July 8, 1648, Hamilton



ACCOMPANYING "SCOTLAND" BY ROBERT S. RAIT, IN "THE MAKE



THE MAKING OF THE NATIONS" SERIES. PUBLISHED BY A. AND C. BLACK, SOHO SQU

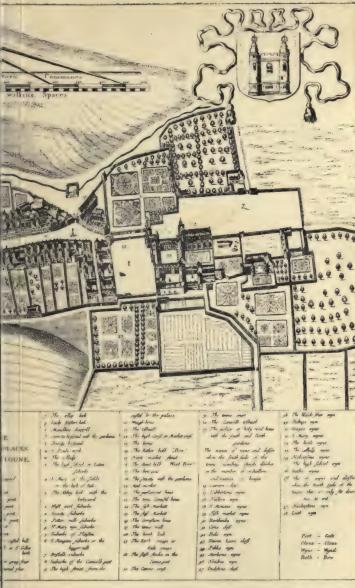


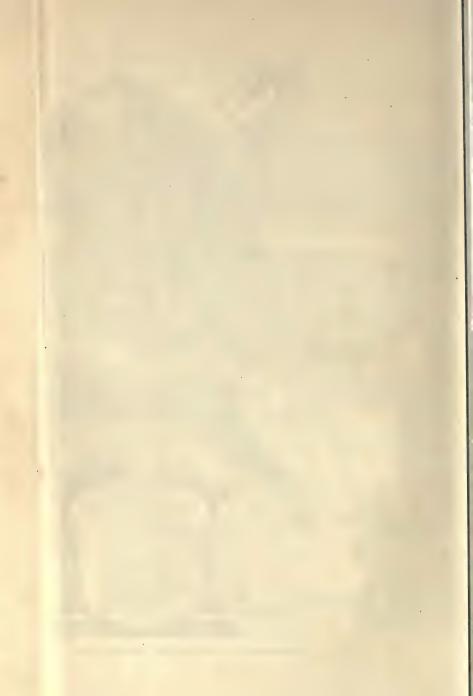
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VIEW OF EDINBURGH IN 1647

JAMES GORDON OF ROTHIEMAY





led an army of 10,000 men across the Border. Elsewhere in England there were Royalist movements, and Baillie feared that "the most that shall be obtained be but an Erastian weak Presbytery, with a toleration of Poperv and Episcopacv at Court, and of diverse sects elsewhere." His fears were groundless, for in the middle of August Hamilton's partly untrained force was destroyed by Cromwell near Preston, and the second Civil War was at an end. Hamilton's defeat and capture destroyed the power of his party, but the Anti-Engagers or Protesters had only escaped contact with the Malignants to fall into the arms of the Sectaries, for Cromwell came to Edinburgh and had a friendly meeting with Argyll, as a result of which the Scottish Parliament, in January, 1649, passed an Act denouncing the Engagement, and distinguishing Four Classes of men unworthy of any public trust. In the first class were included officers of Hamilton's army and "promoters of the Engagement," along with those who took part in Montrose's "horrid rebellion." The Estates still hoped for a Covenanting settlement, and they insisted on the security of the King's person.

The news of the death of King Charles I. was received with horror and indignation throughout Scotland, and the first act of the Estates was to hurl defiance at the Rump by immediately proclaiming his son as King Charles II. "To the great joy of all, in the midst of a very great and universal sorrow, we proclaimed the Prince King of Great Britain, France and Ireland." But the proclamation in itself meant little, and military successes against Scottish Royalists were still sought and welcomed by the Estates. The new King, if he were to receive more than an empty title, must take the Solemn League and Covenant. "If he will join with us in this one point, he will have all Scotland ready to sacrifice

their lives for his service," wrote Baillie; but his friend, the minister of the Scottish Church at Campvere, who had a long interview with the Prince of Orange, the young King's host at the Hague, had much difficulty in showing why a subscription to the National Covenant should not suffice for the people of Scotland. Charles himself thought a crown worth two Covenants, but he was anxious to avoid a disagreeable necessity if it was possible to do so. He fascinated Baillie, who, as one of the Assembly's Commissioners to the Hague, found him "of a very meek and equitable disposition," but so "firm to the tenets his education and company has planted in him" that he could not be brought to see the necessity of doing more than confirming all the Acts of the Scottish Parliament about the Covenant. "It were a thousand pities that so sweet a man should not be at one with all his people." Meanwhile Charles hoped for aid from Ireland, and even after Cromwell had destroyed the Royalist cause in that country there remained a chance that Montrose might repeat his exploits of 1644-45. In the spring of 1650, the great Marquis landed in Scotland, but was defeated by David Leslie at Carbisdale, in Sutherland. On May 25 he was hanged in Edinburgh as an excommunicated traitor. "I blame no man," he said; "I complain of no man. They are instruments. God, forgive them!" Later generations have found it harder to extend forgiveness to the men who persecuted and insulted in his last hours a brave and noble-minded foe; to Argyll, who, coming to witness the shame of the enemy from whom he had fled at Inverlochy, dared not even now meet his gaze, and slunk away amid the jeers of the spectators; or to the ministers and statesmen who failed to make his death ignominious, and who mutilated his dead body. Montrose died happy in the belief that the nation was fortunate in the young King for whom he suffered. "His commandments to me were most just; in nothing that he promises will he fail; he deals justly with all men."

Huntly had preceded Montrose to the grave-he had been beheaded at Edinburgh in March—and Hamilton had suffered a similar fate in England. No choice was open to Charles, and on June 23, 1650, he landed at the mouth of the Spey, having subscribed both the National Covenant and the Solemn League. He bound himself, on his restoration to the English throne, to establish Presbytery in England and Ireland, as well as in Scotland. Deprived of most of the companions of his exile, he was brought through Aberdeen, where Montrose's arm was exposed upon the city gate, to the Palace of Falkland. Sermons innumerable were preached at him. Bishop Burnet remembered with horror one fast day when the King and he—then an undergraduate of eight—listened to six sermons without intermission. Dancing and cards were prohibited; to walk abroad on Sunday was a sin. An army was being collected to defend the Covenanted King from the force with which Cromwell was now invading Scotland. "The King," says Burnet, "was suffered to come once and see it, but not to stay in it, for they were afraid he might gain too much upon the soldiers, so he was sent away." His sincerity was openly questioned, and satisfaction was found in a further royal declaration, in which he deplored his father's guilt for the blood that had been shed, and expressed detestation of the principles in which he had been nurtured. Callous as Charles was, he "was very uneasy when this was brought to him. He said he could never look his mother in the face if he passed it. But when he was told it was necessary for his affairs, he resolved to swallow the pill before further chewing it."

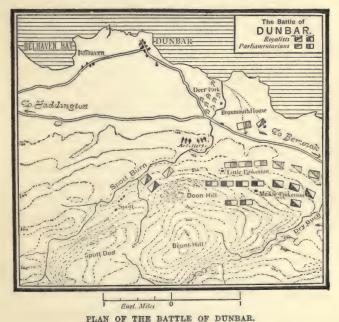
Cromwell, with 16,000 men, was now facing David

Leslie near Edinburgh. Leslie had an army considerably larger in size, but composed, according to a contemporary Scottish Royalist, chiefly of "ministers' sons, clerks, and such other sanctified creatures, who hardly ever saw or heard of any sword but that of the Spirit." Four thousand trained soldiers, says the same authority, had been expelled from the army in accordance with the Act of Classes. Meanwhile Cromwell was attempting to reach a pacific settlement, and he made an appeal to the clergy, in which is preserved one of his best-known sayings:

"You take upon you to judge us in the things of our God, though you know us not. . . . I am persuaded that divers of you, who lead the people, have laboured to build yourselves in these things wherein you have censured others. . . . Is it therefore infallibly agreeable to the Word of God, all that you say? I beseech you in the bowels of Christ, think it possible you may be mistaken. . . . There may be a Covenant made with death and hell. I do not say yours was so. . . . I pray you read the twenty-eighth of Isaiah, from the fifth to the fifteenth verse. And do not scorn to know that it is the Spirit that quickens and giveth life."

Cromwell himself was not finding his task easy. He spent a month in trying to persuade Leslie to meet him in the open. Provisions were scarce, and there was disease in his camp. He lost about 5,000 men before he retired to Dunbar. Leslie at once followed him, seized Doun Hill, and cut off his retreat to Berwick. If Cromwell should attempt to force the road to Berwick, Leslie would have him at his mercy. "Lying here daily consumeth our men," wrote Cromwell, but he made no movement. It was believed in the Scottish camp that he was sending away his artillery by sea, and the clergy and the Parliamentary Committee forced Leslie to leave his strong position on Doun Hill, in order to prevent the

escape of the enemy. "The Lord hath delivered them into our hands," was Cromwell's comment on the manœuvre. His warning from the Book of Isaiah was being fulfilled; the priests and the prophets were erring in vision and stumbling in judgment; the covenant with death was not to ward off the overflowing scourge. The



PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF DUNBAR.

From C. H. Firth's Oliver Cromwell (Putnam's Sons).

Scots made their fatal movement on the evening of September 2. On the morning of the 3rd, after a night of alarms, they found themselves in a position where defeat meant annihilation, for retreat was impossible. Cromwell succeeded in crossing the Brock Burn,* which

^{*} Cf. Professor Firth's account of Dunbar in Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, New Series, vol. xiv. This may now be described as the received account of the battle.

covered the Scottish left, and brought his force face to face with the enemy, who were now crowded in between the hill and the steep banks of the burn. By a feint on their left, he was able to take by surprise their centre and right. The Scottish superiority in numbers became a disadvantage in the narrow space, and, though some regiments stood their ground bravely, the horse on the Scottish right were soon broken, and the English, penetrating the right wing, drove the Scottish infantry against the hill and the ravine of the Brock Burn. It had been a wet morning, but the sun broke out over the sea, and was hailed by Cromwell as a token of Divine favour. "Now let God arise, and His enemies shall be scattered," an English officer heard him shout. "I profess they run," he continued; and the narrator tells how "they routed one another after we had done their work on the right wing." In the fight and the rout the Scots had lost between three and four thousand men; two regiments had been cut down to a man in the last stand. Cromwell did not massacre his prisoners. Five thousand half-starved soldiers were sent to New England, and the other 5,000 broken in health, were allowed to return home.

The effect of Dunbar was to increase the division in the country. A Cromwellian party appeared for the first time when Cromwell seized Edinburgh and Linlithgow, but sacked neither, and appealed to the Scots not to prefer Charles II. to "the peace and welfare of your country, the blood of your people, the love of men of the same faith with you, and the honour of that God we serve." A second party, not prepared to come to terms with Cromwell, held that the disaster at Dunbar was, like the defeat at Preston, a judgement from God. There was a general feeling that this must be true, and the judgement was officially attributed to insufficient care in "purging" the King's household; but the extremists

went farther than this, and attacked the King himself. The soldiers of the Covenant had been fighting for a monarch the "reality of whose profession" was more than doubtful, whose "whole deportment and private conversation showed a secret enmity to the work of God." This second party became known as the Protesters or Remonstrants, because they issued a protest or remonstrance (October, 1650) against some "public resolutions" proposed in the Estates at Perth for the admission of Malignants and Engagers to offices in the army and the State. The Remonstrants were strong among the extreme Covenanters of the south-west, and they raised a considerable force and kept it in arms, alike against Leslie and against Cromwell. It was defeated by Lambert at Hamilton on December 1, 1650. The refusal of the Remonstrants to acknowledge Charles compelled Argyll and the "Resolutioners" to go farther than they had intended to do in the recognition, not only of Engagers, but of the old Royalists. The Act of Classes was not rescinded till June, 1651, but by the end of the previous year so many exceptions had been admitted by the Estates that it had practically become a dead letter. Cromwell had foreseen this result. "It's probable," he wrote, the day after the Battle of Dunbar, "the Kirk has done their do. I believe the King will set up upon his own score now, wherein he will find many friends." The public resolutions were gradually enabling Charles to set up upon his own score, but the preachers had a final field-day at his coronation, which took place at Scone on January 1. Charles gave an assurance that he wished "to live no longer than to see religion and this kingdom flourish in all happiness," and Argyll placed the crown on his head. There was no anointing, that ceremony being "probably not absolutely necessary under the Old Testament, and therefore far less under the New"; but a long sermon was preached by Robert Douglas, one of Baillie's colleagues at Westminster, who liked to imagine that he was descended from Queen Mary and a Douglas of Lochleven. He showed how "the house of our King hath been much defiled by idolatry," and pointed the moral that the godly King Asa, "when he entered in covenant, spared not his mother's idolatry," and he related the "foul defection" of James VI., who "laid the foundation whereon his son, our late King, did build much mischief to religion all the days of his life."

Charles was soon to be free from this kind of sermon. Argyll and his friends quarrelled among themselves; the constant influx of old Royalists strengthened the King, and in March the Parliament asked him to take command of the army. When the Act of Classes was rescinded, the Covenanted King became the leader of an army of Royalists, and it is probable that he refrained from breaking with the Covenanters only because he hoped for support from the English Presbyterians. His kingdom was the country north of the Forth. Parliament moved from Perth to Stirling in May, and Cromwell, marching from Edinburgh, offered battle in vain. Leslie had learned the lesson of Dunbar. Cromwell sent a force into Fife, which completely defeated a detachment despatched by Leslie to meet it, and he decided to run the risk of a Scottish invasion of England. Joining the English force in Fife, he marched on Perth and cut off the Scottish communications with the north. There had been some indications of Royalist risings in England, but Cromwell was never alarmed: "The enemy is heartsmitten by God, and whenever the Lord shall bring us up to them, we believe the Lord will make the desperateness of this counsel of theirs to appear, and the folly of it also." England was in no mood to welcome an army of invaders, and as Charles moved southwards by Carlisle

to Worcester, he gained but few adherents. The Battle of Worcester was fought on the anniversary of Dunbar (September 3, 1651). Cromwell had left nothing to chance; he had taken care, in his pursuit, that defeat would leave the enemy no second opportunity. The Scots, as Cromwell himself tells, "made a very considerable fight . . . as stiff a contest for four or five hours as ever I have seen. . . . The battle . . . in the end became an absolute victory, and so full a one as proved a total defeat and ruin of the enemy's army, a possession of the town . . . and of all their baggage and artillery. There are about six or seven thousand prisoners taken here, and many officers and noblemen of very great quality. . . . The dimensions of this mercy are above my thoughts. It is, for aught I know, a crowning mercy. Surely, if it be not, such a one we shall have."

No other was needed, for Scotland was already at the feet of the Commonwealth. General Monck, between Cromwell's departure from Scotland and the Battle of Worcester, had taken Stirling and Dundee; the latter triumph was stained by a massacre. "The stubbornness of the people," Monck explained, "enforced the soldiers to plunder the town." Even more important than the fall of Dundee was the capture of the Executive. A Committee of the Estates was conferring with the veteran Earl of Leven at Alvth about the relief of Dundee. when a raid from the camp of the besiegers made them all prisoners in Monck's hands. The public records which had been found in Stirling Castle were removed to London. They were returned at the Restoration, but eighty-five hogsheads of them were lost in a merchant-vessel, bearing the ill-omened name of the Elizabeth. The other northern towns soon followed the example of Stirling, and surrendered to the forces of the Commonwealth. English Parliament at first spoke of asserting the right

of conquest over "so much of Scotland as is now under the power of the Forces of this Commonwealth,"* but when nearly the whole of the country came under this description, a more magnanimous and a more statesmanlike policy prevailed. It was announced in October, 1651, that Scotland was to "become one Commonwealth with this of England," and in January, 1652, English Commissioners ordered deputies from the shires and burghs of Scotland to meet at Dalkeith and assent to the Union. The deputies met, not without symptoms of discontent, but discontent was helpless against a military occupation. The necessary authority was given or extorted, and a second convention was summoned to Edinburgh to elect twenty-one of its members to attend the English Parliament in London, and represent Scotland when the final arrangements were made. About a third of the constituencies failed to respond,† but the deputies were duly elected. On their arrival in London, they were made to understand "how great a condescension it was in the Parliament of England, to permit a people they had conquered to have a part in the legislative power." The conquerors reserved to themselves the right of saying what part, and after six months' discussion it was decided that Scotland should elect thirty members. Before the Bill for Union could become law, Cromwell had informed the Rump that they were "no Parliament . . . corrupt unjust persons, scandalous to the profession of the Gospel," and, in the name of God, had bidden them "Go." But the proposal of a Union was not among their offences, and Cromwell and the Council of State acted as if it were already in force, and summoned to the Barebone Parliament five nominated Scottish members.

^{*} Cf. C. S. Terry, The Cromwellian Union (Scottish Historical Society).
† Terry, The Cromwellian Union, p. xxxv.

one of whom refused to attend. No Act passed the Little Parliament, but after its dissolution the Council of State issued an Ordinance for Union, and in May, 1654, the Union and the Protectorate were proclaimed together at Edinburgh. By the Instrument of Government twenty of the thirty Scottish members were allotted to the counties-one to each of the larger, and one to each of nine groups of the less important shires. There were also eight groups of burghs, each group returning one member, and the city of Edinburgh returned two members. When the Parliament met, a Bill was introduced to ratify the Ordinance of Union, but once more, before it had passed through all its stages, Cromwell had told his Parliament that "it is not for the profit of these nations, nor fit for the common and public good, for you to continue here any longer." The second Protectorate Parliament, famous for the Humble Petition and Advice. finally gave legislative sanction to the Union, and in its last days it contained not only thirty Scottish members of the Commons, but three in Cromwell's House of Lords. Representatives of Scotland were allowed to sit in the short-lived Parliament of Richard Cromwell. When the Long Parliament (the Rump) met again, in May, 1659, it could not admit the legality of Protectorate Ordinances and Acts, and a Bill for Union was again brought in, but it was never passed.

Parliament was not the real problem of Scotland, and the disappearance of the Committee of the Estates in August, 1651, left the General Assembly as the sole representative body of the nation. Monck's task was, however, rendered easy by the disputes between the Resolutioners and the Remonstrants. A General Assembly had been summoned for 1653, and the ruling party in the Church ordered the Presbyteries to send only Resolutioners as members of the Assembly. This device,

learned from King James, had been adopted without protest in 1638, and on other occasions, by the Covenanting party, but now that it was directed against a section of the Covenanters themselves no words were strong enough to denounce its iniquities. The Protesters argued, in Baillie's opinion, for "the total subversion of our Presbyterial Government," and Burnet tells how they "disowned that authority which hitherto they had magnified as the highest tribunal in the Church, in which they thought Christ was on his throne. . . . Since all Protestants rejected the pretence of infallibility, the major part of the Church might fall into error, in which case the lesser number could not be bound to submit to them." The name of "Assembly-men" became a party designation—to such a pass had the policy of the Solemn League brought the supporters of a national religion. The Assembly met at Edinburgh in July, 1653, and received the treatment which Cromwell was accustomed to mete out to English Parliaments. Musqueteers and a troop of horse surrounded the meeting-place, and, before the business began, an English Colonel demanded if they sat there by authority of the English Parliament. "The Moderator replied that we were an ecclesiastical synod, a spiritual court of Christ Jesus, which meddled not with anything civil." It was as useless to plead that "by the Solemn League and Covenant the most of the English army stood obliged to defend our General Assembly" as, before Dunbar, it had been vain to remind Oliver Cromwell of his own subscription. The Assembly was forcibly dissolved-not to meet again till Restoration and Revolution had changed the face of Scotland. It was believed that Synods and Presbyteries were to share the fate of Assemblies, but Monck and Cromwell were wise enough to follow the precedent set by James VI., not that of Charles I. "So it was resolved," says Burnet,





JOHN (MAITLAND), DUKE OF LAUDERDALE. Page 250.

Was practically the ruler of Scotland from 1663 to 1679. Born 1616, died_1682.

From the pairting by Scougall in the possession of Colonel Gordon Gilmour.

"to suffer them to meet still in their presbyteries and synods, but not in general assemblies, which had a greater face of union and authority." Not less abhorrent to the Covenanters than the forcible suppression of the Assembly was the toleration against which they had so long struggled. It must have been difficult to answer the English argument that, when they asked for liberty of conscience, they meant liberty to bind other men's consciences. This liberty Cromwell did not intend to grant.

The Royalist party in Scotland made one effort to throw off the English yoke. In 1653 the Earl of Glencairn and Lord Lorne were raiding the Lowlands in the King's name, and early in 1654 Charles sent a more experienced leader in the person of John Middleton, a Covenanting soldier, who had been second in command at Philiphaugh, and had afterwards fought for the King at Preston and Worcester. Middleton was defeated near Loch Garry in July, 1654, and the old Royalists made no further attempt until after Cromwell's death. The Government had been unwise enough to make it treasonable to pray for the King, and it was therefore a point of honour to resist this Erastian interference with the Church. The "best of the ministers," says Baillie, found themselves "in conscience necessitate to keep the King in their public prayers." Baillie himself was of the number, and had to delay the choice of a second wife "till I see what the Lord will do with my great hazard about . . . high treason, praying for the King." In 1655 the eight Commissioners who had governed Scotland since 1651 were superseded by a Council of State, at the head of which was Roger Boyle, Lord Broghill, afterwards Earl of Orrery, a soldier and a poet. The Council removed the penalty, and Baillie wrote, in 1656: "The King is so far forgot here that not one man, so far as I know, keeps any correspondence with him . . . yet I think divers pray to God for him and wish his restitution. But if men of my Lord Broghill's parts and temper be long among us, they will make the present Government more beloved than some men wish. From our public praying for the King, Broghill's courtesies, more than his threats, brought off our leading men." Baillie himself had come to the conclusion that "our evils would grow yet more if Cromwell were removed," and it is clear that the new Government, to this extent, at all events, had conciliated Scottish opposition. Alexander Brodie of Brodie, who had refused to attend the Barebone Parliament because "these of England do not hate but defend many false ways," took the oath as a Justice of the Peace in 1656, and two years later accepted a seat on the bench as one of Cromwell's Scottish Judges.

The confiscation of Royalist estates, ordered by the Long Parliament in 1651, and the introduction into Scotland of the English Parliamentary device of monthly assessments, had serious economic results, and affected adversely the prosperity of the country. Burnet says that the "eight years of usurpation" were a time of prosperity as well as of peace; but as late as 1658 Baillie asserts that "the country . . . is exceeding poor, trade is nought, the English has all the moneys," and he proceeds to show how "many of our chief families' estates are cracking, nor is there any appearance of human relief, for the time." The boon of free trade with England, though future events were to show that it was appreciated, did not have time to produce great results, and the heavy burden of taxation was bitterly resented in a country where taxes had always been light. But if the Cromwellian Government was expensive, it was also efficient. Scotland was, for the first time, adequately policed. "Before the reign of the Commonwealth and Protectorate took end," says the editor of the records of

the Aberdeenshire Sheriff Court, "there was in almost every parish of Aberdeenshire an officer of the law."* Though the Court of Session was replaced by a Commission of Judges, some of whom were Englishmen, the policy adopted in the administration of the law was to strengthen existing institutions. The officers of the law in every parish were Sheriff's officers, and the aim of both the Legislature and the Executive was to increase the power of the Sheriff. Heritable jurisdictions were abolished by the Ordinance of Union; every Sheriff was to be an official appointed by the Government (as both James VI. and Charles I. would have liked to make them). The old ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Commissary Courts was annexed to the Sheriff Courts-a step which was to be retaken in 1836. Legal proceedings, as in England, were to be recorded, not in Latin, but in the vernacular. The Judges of the High Court were impartial and efficient. Except in the Highlands, the boast may well have been justified that, under Monck's rule, "a man may ride all Scotland over with a switch in his hand and £100 in his pocket."

The death of Cromwell, in Scotland as in England, produced no immediate change. "We were feared for trouble after his death," says Baillie, "but all is settled in peace." While Monck remained in Scotland there was peace within her borders. On September 28, 1659, Lambert expelled the Rump in London, and Monck, who was already known to favour a free Parliament, left Scotland in the beginning of January, 1660. Representatives of Scottish shires and burghs had been summoned to meet him in Edinburgh six weeks before his departure. The Royalist Earl of Glencairn was one of

^{*} Records of the Sheriff Court of Aberdeenshire, edited by David Littlejohn, LL.D., vol. iii. (New Spalding Club). The editor's introduction to vol. iii. is most useful for this period.

its Presidents. Monck told them that he was going to London "to maintain the liberty and being of Parliaments, our ancient constitution, the freedom and rights of the people of these three nations . . . and for a godly ministry," and he arranged with them the steps to be taken for the preservation of order and the defence of the country. In February, Conventions of Shires and Burghs met separately, and appointed a Joint Committee to negotiate with Monck about the removal of Scottish grievances, and to promote a better scheme for the union of the kingdoms. The dissolution of the Long Parliament and the meeting of the Convention in England put an end to the discussion. On May 14, 1660, Charles II. was, for the second time, proclaimed at Edinburgh.

CHAPTER IX

THE KILLING TIME

THE almost universal acclamation with which the Restoration of King Charles II. was received in Scotland was not intended as a greeting to a Merrie Monarch. Scotland rejoiced at her deliverance from a despotism, which, however benevolent and efficient, was yet English and military, and she welcomed back a Covenanted King, for whose throne Scotsmen had fought and died at Preston and Dunbar and Worcester. It is difficult for us to realize that the Restoration brought hope to the supporters of the Solemn League and Covenant, but it must be remembered that the restored Long Parliament, in its last days, contemplated the establishment of Presbyterian doctrine and discipline, and ordered a copy of the Covenant to be placed in every parish church in England. The Convention which invited the King to have his own again was largely Presbyterian in sympathy, and, though it sat for six months after the King's return, it refrained from repealing the Act which deprived the spiritual peers of their seats in the Upper House. A union of moderate Presbyterians and moderate Episcopalians seemed a probable solution of the religious problem in England in the spring of 1660.* In Scotland, Presbyterian hopes were higher still. If the King could be made to realize how near to Popery were the opinions of the leaders of

^{*} Professor Firth in the Cambridge Modern History, vol. v., p. 96.

the Anglican party, his heart, it was believed, would be withdrawn from them. "The heaven for height and the earth for depth, and the heart of Kings is unsearchable," said the wise man. Twelve months in Scotland had not revealed the character of Charles Stewart. The news of the Restoration of the Book of Common Prayer in the Church of England came to Baillie as a painful surprise. "Can our gracious Prince ever forget his solemn oath and subscription? He is a better man than to do it, if there about him be not very unfaithful servants." He could not realize that the Solemn League was to the vast majority of the people of England no national agreement with the Almighty, but one of the evil acts of a usurpation, and he blamed the English Presbyterians for cowardice and folly:

"We have lost a fair game by mere misguiding. A pity but Hyde and some others had been removed from Court before this. . . . Could I ever have dreamed that the Bishops and Books should have been so soon restored, with so great ease and silence of the Presbyterian Covenanters in the two Houses, the City and Assembly of London, of Lancashire, and other shires? Be assured, whatever surprise be for the time, this so hideous a breach to God and man cannot fail to produce the wrath of God in the end. . . . I and many more, who have and will ever rejoice for the restitution of our King, resolve to complain to God and man, while we live, for the return of Books and Bishops."

When Baillie wrote, he had little, if any, suspicion that an ecclesiastical revolution was intended in Scotland and his words show that if Charles II. and his advisers had been actuated by the best intentions there would still have been a difficulty in reconciling even the more moderate Covenanters to the necessity of accepting the failure of the Solemn League. Baillie was a Resolutioner, and his experience of the "dangers of our Church in Cromwell's time" had tended to modify some of the more extreme opinions he had adopted in the crisis of the controversy, yet he regarded the restoration of Episcopacy in England as a wilful defiance of God. If the Resolutioners adopted this position, it was natural that the Remonstrants should go further still. What Baillie wrote in private letters they expressed, in stronger terms, in a petition to the King, the draft of which fell into the hands of his Scottish advisers. It warned Charles against malignants in the Royal Household and Prayer-Books in the Royal Chapel, and it asked for the extirpation of Prelacy and the establishment of Presbytery in the three kingdoms. It inveighed against the "vomit of toleration," and reminded the King of the oath which he had taken at his coronation at Scone, a ceremony which the Remonstrants had themselves denounced as provocative of the wrath of God. The demand for the suppression of Episcopacy in England was worse than grotesque, and if the godly, as they called themselves, had represented public opinion in Scotland, it is not easy to say what the Restoration Government could have done to pacify the country. But though they had, under Monck's rule, been successful in invoking the aid of the Erastian soldiers of the sectaries to intrude Remonstrant ministers upon unwilling congregations, they were confessedly in a minority. That the schism between Resolutioner and Remonstrant should have survived the Battle of Worcester, the Commonwealth, the Protectorate, and the Restoration, is a bitter comment upon the attempt at national and international uniformity out of which the quarrel had grown, but the persistence and the ever-increasing rancour of the controversy offered the advisers of Charles II. an opportunity of which they declined to avail themselves.

"Let the King do what he will," wrote Baillie, when Episcopacy was at his gates, "he will ever get the blessings of us all." Baillie had a personal affection for Charles, "whom I will be loather in the least to offend than any mortal creature, for the particular respect I have, and ever have had, since my first acquaintance in the Hague." He was, therefore, not a typical Resolutioner, but it is probable that his party, as a whole, would have acquiesced in the establishment in Scotland of a moderate Presbyterianism, without the ecclesiastical tyranny which had marred not only the Solemn League but also the National Covenant. Even as it was, it took twenty years of misrule to produce a rebellion on any considerable scale; only a small number of Presbyterians were ever in actual rebellion against the King, and men who had themselves suffered for their faith disapproved of the great rising in the west, in which were fought the Battles of Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge. If Charles II. had conciliated the Resolutioners by a moderate Presbyterianism, two difficulties would have remained—the treatment of the episcopal minority in the north-east and in the Highlands, and the impossible claims of the Remonstrants. But it must be remembered that, under the Restoration, the question of Presbyterian orders was rarely raised, that there was little or no difference of ritual between Presbyterians and Episcopalians, and that there was no dispute about the succession to the throne, such as, in later years, separated the two churches. The problem of the Episcopalians was not insoluble, Charles could confidently count on their loyalty, and if no compromise could be made, he was certainly strong enough to insist upon toleration. Further, the position of the Remonstrants in such circumstances would have been different from what it actually was. The modern belief that the Covenanters

were fighting at Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge simply and solely for the right to worship God in a Presbyterian Church must not be dismissed as a misunderstanding due to the errors of prejudiced historians with a traditional theme to expound. It represents to no small extent the moral force behind the rebellion. Bishops were forced upon a Church, the majority of whose members regarded their office as unscriptural and incompatible with the spirit of Christianity. Charles gave the extremists grievances much more real than the imagined injury he had done them in refusing their outrageous demand to persecute his loyal subjects of the Church of England. The actual injustice and tyranny of which the King was guilty bulked larger in the mind of the nation than the impracticable injustice and tyranny of which the extremists desired to be guilty, and Presbyterians who regarded the risings as "unseasonable" and foolish would yet have been the last to deny that, were the circumstances more favourable, there was good ground for rebellion. The sympathy of later generations is derived not so much from an essential misapprehension of history, as from the genuine tradition of a great factor in the politics of the time. The rebels devised for themselves bad reasons for rebellion, but they did not rebel until the King gave them good reasons. If there had been no ground of complaint beyond the negation of the Solemn League, would there have been any rebellion at all? The question is essential to any fair judgement of the conduct of Charles II, and his advisers.

It was not until some time after the Restoration that the royal policy in Scotland was determined, or at all events revealed. Charles, who not infrequently imitated the measures of his grandfather, James VI., began by securing an obsequious Privy Council. The Earl of Glencairn was the new Chancellor; the Earl of Rothes, one of the Royalist prisoners at Worcester, became President of the Council; and the still more important post of its Secretary was filled by the Earl of Lauderdale, a "gracious youth," of whom the Covenanters had once had high hopes. Like Rothes he had been captured at Worcester, and after his release in March, 1660, had gone to Holland to worship the rising sun. No Parliament was summoned, but the Committee of the Estates, which Monck had seized at Alvth in 1651, reassembled and issued injunctions against unlawful assemblies and conventicles. Any alarm which this might have caused was stifled by a letter in which Charles assured the Presbytery of Edinburgh of his intention to "protect and preserve the government of the Church of Scotland as it is settled by law," and Baillie describes the King as "in wisdom, moderation, piety, and grave carriage giving huge satisfaction to all." Rejoicing at the punishment of the English regicides, the insults to the bones of Cromwell and Bradshaw, and the disgrace of "blind Milton . . . and others of that maleficent crew," Baillie regarded without any violent emotion the retributive measures taken in Scotland. The Scottish victims were four in number. The Marquis of Argyll had been rash enough to go to London, where he was arrested in July, 1660, and after a long trial at Edinburgh was beheaded on May 14, 1661. Sir George Mackenzie, who defended him, was sufficiently tactful to tell him "a little before his death, that the people believed he was a coward and expected he would die timorously; he said he would not die as a Roman braving death, but he would die as a Christian without being affrighted." He kept his promise and died manfully; he "had been much hated by the people, yet in death he was regretted by many, and by none insulted over," says Baillie, thinking, doubtless, of Montrose, who had by this time been buried in St. Giles's "with a greater solemnity than any of our Kings ever had at their burial in Scotland." The second Restoration sufferer was James Guthrie, the Remonstrant minister of Stirling, who had declined to admit the royal authority in 1650, and was responsible for the petition sent to the King after the Restoration. Baillie, though he had ceased to love Argyll, mourned for his death, but he had little sympathy for Guthrie. "Though few approved his way, yet many were grieved to see a minister so severely used." Baillie himself warned Lauderdale to "see that none get the King persuaded to take ministers' heads," and he considered that for Mr. Guthrie's restless and proud insolence the proper punishment was banishment to Orkney. Guthrie's execution is the first of many proofs that the Government did not know how to deal with fanatics. It was a satisfaction to the King's feelings, for Charles and some of his Ministers had personal reasons for revenging themselves on him, but the unsympathetic Mackenzie records how he "gained by his death the name of a martyr. Those of his party drenched up his blood with their napkins, which bloody reliques are held in much esteem to this day." With Guthrie suffered a Remonstrant soldier, William Govan, who had made terms with the English and joined Cromwell's army, and who was unjustly suspected of having been "on the scaffold when King Charles was murthered." The fourth victim, Johnston of Warriston, one of Montrose's judges, was in France, and had to be kidnapped

A new Parliament met in January, 1661. The King's Commissioner was the Royalist soldier, Thomas Middleton, whom Charles had created an Earl in 1656. He was "not very acceptable to many," but Baillie tells us that, on his first arrival, "his wisdom, sobriety, and moderation has been such as makes him better beloved."

before he could be tried and executed (1663).

Each Estate chose its own Lords of the Articles to Middleton's satisfaction, and Parliament proceeded to its work. The inspiration of the Commonwealth is possibly to be traced in some sound legislation about trade and commerce (though the Scottish Parliament had always been sensible in its dealings with such matters); acts against Sabbath-breaking and swearing were doubtless welcomed, and a measure against excessive drinking came strangely from the Government which, according to Burnet, was already becoming known as the "Drunken Administration." But these things were not the real business of the Parliament. Its members had been carefully selected, for letters had been addressed to "such a gentleman in every shire as stood best affected to His Majesty's service and whom they wished should be elected," and Sir George Mackenzie never knew "any Parliament so obsequious." Acts restoring the royal prerogative were its first duty; the powers which Charles I. had given up in 1641 were restored to the Crown, and an oath of allegiance, in the English form, was imposed upon all officials. It recognized the King as supreme governor over all persons and in all causes, as James VI. had been recognized. Theological ingenuity was quite adequate to deal with this particular form of oath, and, though it caused some comment and the secession from Parliament of the Earl of Cassilis, it did not worry Robert Baillie. "I took the oath . . . thirty four years ago, and yet never scrupled it," he says, and he thought that its opponents in the Presbytery of Edinburgh were making an unnecessary fuss. He was soon to share their alarm, for it began to be rumoured that all Acts of Parliament since 1633 were to be rescinded. "This caused a great noise and all grief over the whole land, so that for a while the motion was retired, and such intention denied." It was not for long. On March 28,

1661, a long and argumentative General Act Rescissory was passed, annulling the public statutes of the "pretended Parliaments" of the years 1640-1648. When this measure received the royal sanction, Episcopacy became automatically "the government of the Church of Scotland as it is settled by law," and the King could redeem his pledge to the Presbytery of Edinburgh. "In nothing that he promises will he fail," Montrose had said of Charles II.

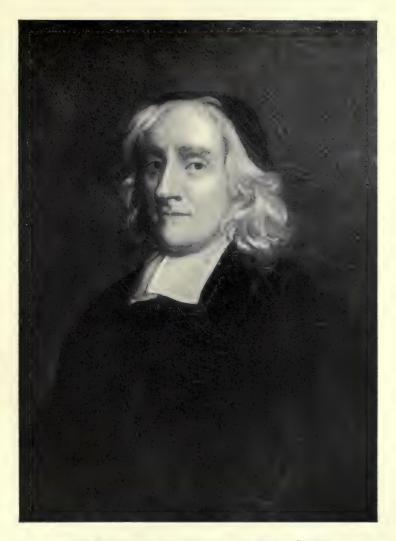
In July the Estates adjourned, and before they met again in March, 1662, the Restoration of Episcopacy was an accomplished fact. Charles and his advisers had made up their minds to restore the settlement of James VI. Lauderdale warned the King that his two predecessors had "ruined their affairs by engaging in the design of setting up Episcopacy," but Charles replied that Presbytery was "not a religion for gentlemen." Middleton, who was determined to introduce Episcopalian government, prevented the local Church Courts from sending up petitions against it, but the Synod of Aberdeen was gladly permitted to ask for a government "conform to the Scriptures and the rules of the primitive church." Baillie placed his sole hope in "the goodness of the King himself." He says that "many of our people are hankering after Bishops," and laments the "qualities of these light men about Aberdeen who have ever been for all changes." If Charles could only be told the truth all would be well, he thought, and he implored Lauderdale and James Sharp to inform him in time. Sharp, the minister of Crail in Fife, had been the representative of the Resolutioners in London at the close of the Protectorate-" The most wise, honest, diligent, and successful agent of the nation in the late dangers of our Church in Cromwell's time," is Baillie's description of him, and in the summer of 1661 Baillie still believed in his integrity. Whether Sharp had been consistently treacherous since the King's return, or whether, gradually discovering that the cause of Presbytery was lost, he determined to find his own profit in the defeat of his party, is a disputed question. It was soon announced that he was to be Archbishop of St. Andrews, and in the end of 1661 he and three of his colleagues (Fairford, Archbishop of Glasgow; Hamilton, Bishop of Galloway; and Robert Leighton, Bishop of Dunblane) were consecrated in London. Fairford and Hamilton had received episcopal ordination in the reign of Charles I., but Sharp and Leighton possessed Presbyterian orders, and it was decided to re-ordain them. Sharp, says Burnet, "stuck more at it than could have been expected from a man that had swallowed down greater matters." Leighton, whose father lost his ears for uttering Sion's Plea against Prelacy, "did not stand much upon it." Like King James, "he did not think Episcopacy necessary to the being of a church," and though a saint he was no bigot. "They placed more religion in their ceremonies than in the most material matters of religion, and we placed more religion in opposing their ceremonies than in the weightiest matters of the law of God," he said, about this time, summing up the struggles of the past.

When Parliament was reassembled it admitted the new Bishops to their places and restored their old jurisdiction. No direction was given for the reordination of the clergy, and this step was taken only in exceptional cases; in new ordinations the Bishops officiated as members of the Presbyteries. The Laudian Prayer-Book was not imposed upon the Church, and it was very rarely used. "We had no ceremonies, surplice, altar, cross in baptism," wrote Sir George Mackenzie about the Established Episcopal Church of Scotland. "The way of worshipping in our church differed nothing from what

the Presbyterians themselves practised, excepting only that we used the Doxology, the Lord's Prayer, and, in baptism, the Creed "-all of which had been usual in Presbyterian churches till the Civil War. There was no episcopal confirmation, and no diaconate; as far as doctrine and ritual were concerned Charles had restored the Jacobean and not the Laudian Episcopacy; but the Government were not content, and in an effort to improve upon the settlement of King James they overreached themselves and destroyed any element of permanence in their arrangements. Cromwell had recognized that it would be an error in tactics to attack the lower courts of the Church, and after the General Act Rescissory, the Restoration Government had permitted them to meet until they indicated an intention of petitioning against Episcopacy. An attempt was now made to retain them in complete dependence upon the Bishops. A Proclamation, issued in January, 1662, suspended their meetings until they should receive an Episcopal summons, and the Act which restored Episcopacy denied to meetings of office-bearers of the Church any jurisdiction "other than that which acknowledgeth a dependence upon and subordination to the Sovereign Power of the King as Supreme, and which is to be regulated and authorized in the exercise thereof by Archbishops and Bishops." The Jacobean Church was thus sharply distinguished from the Restoration; in the former Bishops had been imposed upon the existing Presbyterian system, in the latter Episcopal government was to supersede the Presbyterian system. Further, the Erastian character of the settlement was accentuated by this provision, and Erastianism was abhorrent to many who were prepared to accept Episcopacy. The policy was not successful; Kirk-Sessions and Presbyteries were so deeply rooted that they could not be converted

into meetings which merely ratified the will of the Bishops, and they continued to hold a large place in the life of the nation, while the refusal of the more extreme Presbyterians to share in the deliberations of courts which in strict theory were not Presbyteries at all, prevented the actual persistence of Presbyterian discipline from exercising any conciliatory influence upon the nation at large. Sharp, according to Burnet, "did this without any advice, and it proved very fatal."

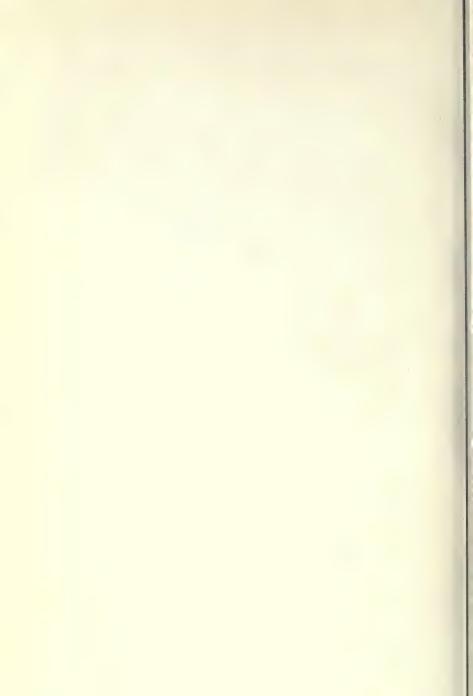
A still more unwise step was to follow. It was not enough to give Bishops the government of the Church, to compel all persons in public trust to renounce the Covenants, and to make a sermon against Episcopacy a treasonable offence. The Government adopted a still more vigorous policy of Erastianism. Lay Patronage in the Church of Scotland had been abolished by an Act of 1649, which had now become invalid. Charles and his advisers chose to pick their quarrel with the Remonstrant clergy partly upon this non-religious ground. An Act of June, 1662, ordered that every minister who had been inducted since 1649 should ask for a presentation from the patron of his living, and a collation from the Bishop of his diocese. If such an application was made by September 20, the patron was ordered to accede to it; if not, the living was to be declared vacant. In the north and east the Act was generally obeyed; in the west it was ignored, and a meeting of the Privy Council was summoned. The Duke of Hamilton told Burnet that "they were all so drunk that day that they were not capable of considering anything that was laid before them, and would hear of nothing but the executing the law." The recalcitrants were ordered to leave their parishes, and 271 incumbents were summarily ejected. Of these, 87 belonged to the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, in which only 35 ministers remained. A suspension of the edict



JAMES SHARP, ARCHBISHOP OF ST. ANDREWS. Page 253.

Born in 1613, and murdered by Covenanters at Magus Muir in 1679.

From the painting in the possession of Sheriff Shairp.



till February, 1663, produced little effect, and Burnet describes a "sort of an invitation sent over the kingdom like a hue and cry, to all persons to accept of benefices in the west. The livings were generally well endowed, and the parsonage houses well built and in good repair, and this drew many worthless persons thither, who had little learning, less piety, and no sort of discretion. . . . They were the worst preachers I ever heard; they were ignorant to a reproach, and many of them were openly vicious. They were a disgrace to orders, and the sacred functions, and were indeed the dreg and refuse of the northern parts."

Such was the "fatal beginning of Episcopacy in Scotland." The Archbishop of St. Andrews was generally regarded as the possessor of a succession from Judas, and the Royal Commissioner was a drunken debauchee. In 1663, Middleton was dismissed, and was succeeded by the Earl of Rothes. Taking the view that "the King's Commissioner ought to represent his person," Rothes continued the tradition of debauchery which he had helped Middleton to create, and which Lauderdale did much to confirm. Episcopacy thus became popularly associated with vice in high places, and, under Rothes, it was soon to be supported by a deliberate cruelty which finds no parallel in the outrages of the Civil War. His first Parliament followed the precedent of the Elizabethan settlement in England by appointing fines for non-attendance at parish churches, and thus declared war on the Presbyterian laity. The method of enforcing the Act was calculated to increase its unpopularity. Parliament passed a Militia Bill, and troops were quartered in nonconformist districts. The new incumbents reported the absentees, and the soldiers collected the fines. Although the Parliament adopted King James's methods of electing the Lords of the Articles, Rothes

and Lauderdale preferred to dispense with its assistance, and to "return to the good old form of government by His Majesty's Privy Council." The Estates were dissolved in October, 1663, and did not meet again for six years. The Council followed up their recusancy measure by an exaggeration of one of the English penal laws of Elizabeth's reign. Ejected ministers were forbidden to reside within twenty miles of their former parishes, or within six miles of a cathedral town, or within three miles of a royal burgh. Only in the Highlands could these conditions be complied with, and the banishment of Whig ministers to the Highlands was not a practicable proposal. Sharp brought to the aid of the Privy Council the services of a Commission for executing the laws relating to the Church, which he persuaded the King to appoint, but the experiment was unsuccessful and short-lived, and his proposal to summon a National Synod to sanction a Book of Common Prayer and Ecclesiastical Canons was never carried out, though it received the approval of the Parliament of 1663.

From 1664 to 1666 a rebellion was expected by the Government. The gentry were poor and discontented, and in the "fierce and intractable" western shires many of them were subject, not only to fines for non-attendance at church, but also to pecuniary penalties for their conduct during the Civil War and the Protectorate. The loss of trade consequent upon the termination of the Union and the operation of the English Navigation Act, was greatly increased by the outbreak in 1665 of what the Convention of Royal Burghs described as "the unhappy wars with Holland." Reports sent to London in the illiterate handwriting of Rothes tell of "the strong evil affectedness of our pipill in this countrie who due rejouys that the duthe [Dutch] are not overthrown," and the Commissioner expressed his belief that "they

would joayn with Turcks to feaght against the King and his guffernment." There were even rumours of a rising in the west in alliance with the Dutch. Some of the gentry of the western counties were imprisoned as a precaution, and an order for a general disarming was issued by the Council. The guilty consciences of the rulers of Scotland were unnecessarily alarmed. The people were determined to retain their arms, but not for the purpose of assisting the King's enemies. Expelled from the churches, the nonconforming ministers and their parishioners began to worship in the open air, and the Privy Council forbade these field-meetings or conventicles, and held masters and landlords responsible for the attendance at them of their dependents. prohibition was largely successful, but there was a defiant minority in the west, determined to fight, and, if necessary, to die for their opinions, and the conventicle became in Scottish tradition the characteristic feature of the reign of Charles II. Memories of conventicles were handed down as a precious possession. Sir Walter Scott used to tell that his "father's grandmother perfectly remembered being carried when a girl to these field preachings with her mother, where the clergyman thundered from the top of a rock, and the ladies sate upon their sidesaddles, which were placed on the turf for their accommodation, while the men all stood armed with swords and pistols, and watches were kept on each neighbouring eminence to give notice of the approach of the soldiers." The first conventicles were innocent of sword and pistol, but the Government was soon to give convincing proof of the necessity of such things.

The soldiers who were engaged in exacting fines from the recusants found a new occupation in discovering and breaking up conventicles. Sir James Turner, who commanded a body of these troops, was attacked at Dumfries

on November 15, 1666. He had few men with him, the others "being out in parties for the levying of fines," and he was surprised and captured. Though Burnet describes him as "naturally fierce, but mad when he was drunk," the papers found in his possession showed that "he had been gentler than his orders were," and the triumphant Covenanters spared his life. "A great many run to the rebels, who came to be called the Whigs,"* and they marched to Lanark, where they issued a statement expressing loyalty to the King, and demanding the restoration of Presbytery and the Covenant. Declining an offer of pardon, they marched from Lanark upon Edinburgh, followed by the Commander-in-Chief in Scotland, Sir Thomas Dalziel, a veteran of Buckingham's expedition to Rochelle, who had more recently served in the Russian army against Poles and Turks. When the Covenanters reached Colinton, they lost heart; so far from receiving any support, they found that their numbers had fallen from 2,000 to some 900. They decided to return by the Pentland Hills, and on the night of November 28 Dalziel found them at Rullion Green, † and inflicted upon them a severe defeat.

There were over 100 prisoners of Rullion Green, and their treatment affords another illustration at once of the cruelty and of the folly of the Government. "Some of them will doubtless be put to the torture before they be executed," wrote one of the Privy Council; and Sharp tried to prevent the escape to Ireland of those who had made their way home from Rullion Green. The Privy Council, of which Sharp was now President, had been unnecessarily alarmed, and they took measures to discover a conspiracy which existed only in their own

^{*} The full term Whiggamore, from "whiggam," a word used in driving horses, had been applied to the Covenanters of the west for about twenty years.

† See Professor C. S. Terry's Pentland Rising (MacLehose, 1905).





His military career was devoted to the suppression of the Covenanters. Born 1649[?] and fell mortally wounded at Killiecrankie, 1689, fighting for the House of Stuart.

From the painting by Lely in the possession of the Earl of Strathmore.

terrified imagination. The torture of the boot was employed in vain to extract information from a young preacher, who, "for all the pain of the torture, died as in a rapture of joy." His dying words, "Farewell, sun, moon, and stars: farewell, kindred and friends: farewell, world and time: farewell, weak and frail body; welcome, eternity: welcome, angels and saints: welcome, Saviour of the world: and welcome, God the Judge of all," were treasured by generations of Scotsmen.

"It was a moving sight," says Burnet, "to see ten of the prisoners hanged upon one gibbet at Edinburgh, thirty-five more were sent to their counties, and hanged up before their own doors, their ministers all the while using them hardly and declaring them damned for their rebellion."

These men might have saved their lives by renouncing the Covenant, and Rothes described them as "damd fules and incorrigeable phanaticks." But it would be both unfair and unhistorical to speak of the sufferers as dying simply because of fanatical adhesion to the Solemn League. If the Government had done no more than ignore the Covenants, there would have been no Pentland Rising, and no rebels to torture and execute. Charles II. had made the Covenant the sole alternative to acquiescence in an enforced Episcopacy, and the sole condition of Presbyterian worship. The Covenant had come to stand for more than the desire to bind other men's consciences; persecution had converted an engine of tyranny into a weapon which could be used in the service of liberty. Much may be forgiven to the fanaticism of hunted men, and the sufferers for Rullion Green may claim more than forgiveness. They had endured with such patience as they possessed the destruction of their own propaganda of persecution, and now, by the grace of the King, they were privileged to fight for something better

than the Solemn League and Covenant. In other circumstances, they would, probably enough, have been guilty of the crimes for which we execrate the Restoration Government, and their opponents would have evinced a similar courage and devotion. As it was, the responsibility for the actual wrong lies with the persecutors. In the days of their power, the Covenanters had not known what manner of spirit they were of; now they were of a nobler spirit, even if they knew it not.

The vindictive cruelty of Sharp and of the ministers who "used hardly" the dying rebels was abhorrent to many who believed in Episcopacy. Leighton had already begged the King in vain to allow him to resign his Bishopric. "He could not concur," he said, "in the planting the Christian religion itself in such a manner. much less a form of government." There was no violence in his diocese; "even the Presbyterians were much mollified, if not quite overcome, by his mild and heavenly course of life." Bishop Scougal of Aberdeen, the author of The Life of God in the Soul of Man, was on good terms with the Presbyterians in the north. The chaplain and biographer of Montrose, George Wishart, Bishop of Edinburgh, who himself had known the cruelties of a harsh imprisonment, sent food to the starving prisoners of Rullion Green when they were crowded together in the corner of an Edinburgh church.

"Many of the episcopal clergy," Burnet tells us, "hated violent courses, and thought they were contrary to the meek spirit of the Gospel, and that they alienated the nation more and more from the Church."

But these men were powerless, and the work of suppression went on. Though Rothes was not yet "a wearie of causing hang such rebellious traitors," it was deemed best to trust to fines and confiscations. Dalziel took charge of the west, and, in Burnet's opinion, "acted the Muscovite too grossly; he threatened to spit men and to roast them, and killed some in cold blood, or rather in hot blood. . . . When he heard of any that did not go to church, he would not trouble himself to set a fine upon him, but he set as many soldiers upon him as would eat him up in a night. And the clergy were so delighted with it that they used to speak of that time as poets do of the Golden Age."

The Golden Age soon came, temporarily to an end. It had coincided with a decrease in the influence of Lauderdale, but that astute statesman regained his power, and in September, 1667, Rothes ceased to be Commissioner and was promoted to the less important post of Chancellor. "Now," says Burnet, "all was turned to a more sober and more moderate management. Even Sharp grew meek and humble." Large numbers of the people entered into a bond for keeping the peace, and on the conclusion of the Dutch War, the army was disbanded. Leighton proposed an agreement for the comprehension of Presbyterians in the National Church. In June, 1669, Charles sent to the Privy Council a Letter of Indulgence, ordering them to allow peaceable and loyal Presbyterians to obtain vacant livings, and to pay pensions to others. The second provision was interpreted by the ministers as "the King's hire to be silent" and it was declined; under the first clause about forty-two Presbyterians had parishes assigned to them. The Archbishop of Glasgow, Alexander Burnet (not the historian), who had succeeded Fairford in 1664, got his Synod to remonstrate against the King's evasion of the law, and the incident led to his enforced resignation. The Indulgence, though it irritated the episcopal party in the west, was only a half measure. Its operation was so short-lived that the forty ministers who were "indulged" were

generally suspected of having entered into a secret agreement, and it did not extend to protecting the Presbyterian conscience from episcopal authority and the acknowledgment of the Royal Supremacy. When Parliament met in October, 1669, it asserted the royal power so strongly that the Covenanters remarked that Scottish Episcopacy was "merely His Majesty's usurpation over the house of God," and that Episcopalians complained, with some reason, that it had "made the King our Pope." The Estates had not met since 1663, though two Conventions had been summoned to supply the King with money. The Parliament of 1670, in which Lauderdale was the Royal Commissioner, was called to consider proposals for a Union with England, and to legalize a National Militia, on the model of the Commonwealth organization, with which the Privy Council had already replaced the disbanded army. Its meeting marks the end of the conciliatory policy of Lauderdale. The attempt of Leighton to negotiate with the Presbyterians soon ended in failure, and, resigning the Archbishopric of Glasgow which he had unwillingly accepted, he went into retirement in England. He was succeeded by his predecessor, Alexander Burnet, whose fierce spirit was more in sympathy with Lauderdale's new methods, Soon the growth of conventicles, not only in the west, caused alarm in London, where Lauderdale's administration was represented as a failure.

Lauderdale, thus incited to further rigour, carried through Parliament, in August, 1670, an Act against Conventicles which Charles himself regarded as extravagantly severe. The penalties for unlicensed worship in private houses were increased, and war to the knife was declared against field meetings:

"Whosoever without Licence or authoritie . . . shall Preach, Expound Scripture or Pray at any of these meetings in the field Or in any house wher ther be moe persons nor the house contains so as some of them be without Doors (which is hereby declared to be a feild Conventicle) or who shall convocat any number of people to these meetings shall be punished with Death and confiscation of ther goods."

Heavy fines were appointed for presence at conventicles, and informers were to be paid for helping to suppress them. Scotland was not pacified, and the extremists in the west attempted to make the position of conforming ministers intolerable. "Conventicles," Burnet tells us, "abounded in all places of the country, and some furious zealots broke into the houses of some of the ministers, wounding them and robbing their goods, forcing some of them to swear that they would never officiate any more in their churches." The Government had reasons for suspecting a Covenanting intrigue with the Dutch, and Lauderdale increased his repressive measures. "Would to God," he said, "they would rebel, that so I might bring over an army of Irish Papists to cut all their throats." His way was "to govern by fits, and to pass from hot to cold ones, always in extremes," and a second Indulgence was announced in 1672. "The Black Indulgence," in Mause Headrigg's words, "proved a stumbling block" to about forty more ministers, and lovers of conventicles found that the Lord was kind to them when they left off hearing the conformists. Lauderdale had further divided the Presbyterians, but he had only made the extreme party more bitter against the moderates and against the law. He had other difficulties, for he had quarrelled with his own supporters, and in 1673 he found the obedient Estates daring to object to monopolies and showing a spirit which he had never expected to find. In February, 1674, they were dissolved and no Parliament met during the rest of Lauderdale's rule. He had been created a Duke in 1672; in the same year he made a second marriage, and the influence of the Duchess alienated him from many of his friends. From this time onwards there were no more "cold fits" in his government of Scotland. Men who went armed to conventicles were outlawed, and all who gave them food or shelter were involved in the same penalty. Garrisons were billeted in country houses in the west, and in 1677 landlords were required "to enter into bonds for themselves, their wives, children, servants, tenants, and all that lived upon their estates, that they should not go to conventicles," or harbour outlawed persons. In vain they pointed out that this act of the Privy Council made it easy for a single servant or tenant to ruin them. Early in 1678 a "Highland Host," numbering 8,000 men, was quartered on the west, stealing and robbing everywhere; when the landlords went to Edinburgh to protest, they were ordered to go home and assist the King's soldiers. "These things seemed done on design to force a rebellion," says Burnet, and Lauderdale certainly contemplated this result. "How soon they may take arms no man can tell," he wrote in November, 1677, and his party showed so strong a desire for confiscated estates that the "people saw a rebellion was desired and bore the present oppression more quietly." Every device which legal ingenuity could invent was brought into requisition; unfounded acccusations were made against the gentry of the discontented districts in order to give opportunities for the methods of the Inquisition; writs, which were usually issued in cases where one man apprehended injury from another, were served broadcast in the King's name, and security was taken for their observance. Lauderdale had many enemies in England as well as in Scotland, and in the summer of 1679 an investigation was held in London into the government of Scotland, but Charles was not prepared to dismiss his Minister. His enemies, he thought, "had objected many damned things he had done against *them*, but there was nothing objected that was against *his* service."

While the investigation was in progress the fate of Lauderdale's administration was being sealed. May 3, 1679, Archbishop Sharp was barbarously murdered as he was driving across Magus Moor to St. Andrews. His life had been attempted before this, and only in the preceding year he had insisted upon the execution of an assassin who, in 1668, had failed to murder him, and who had confessed his crime under a promise of mercy. The men who killed him were there with the deliberate intention of murdering not Sharp, but one of his agents, and to their frenzied imaginations the opportune arrival of the Archbishop was an indication that God had delivered him into their hands. Strong Presbyterians heard of the murder with horror, and refused to extend to it the condonation of some later historians. "It grieved my soul to hear that any professing real grace should fall in such an act," wrote Alexander Brodie, who thought that "the taking away his life would do more harm to religion than ever his life had done." A few years earlier it would have been an isolated outrage, but Lauderdale had prepared the ground too well. was sympathy for the murderers in the west, where, through the winters of 1678-79, armed Conventicles had been numerous in spite of the repressive efforts of John Graham of Claverhouse, who had seen service under William of Orange, and was now in command of a troop of Horse Guards at Dumfries.

On May 29, the day which an Erastian government had ordered them to observe as an Holy Day, some eighty Covenanters proclaimed in the village of Rutherglen their open defiance of the King. Their numbers increased,

and when Claverhouse attacked them at Drumclog on June 1, they defeated him and marched on Glasgow, which they failed to enter. For three weeks they were in undisturbed possession of the country round the town of Hamilton.

"If there had been any designs or preparations for a rebellion, now they had time enough to run together and to form themselves; but it appeared that there had been no such designs, by this, that none came into it but those desperate intercommoned [outlawed] men, who were as it were hunted from their houses into all those extravagances that men may fall in, who wander about inflaming one another, and are heated in it with false notions of religion."

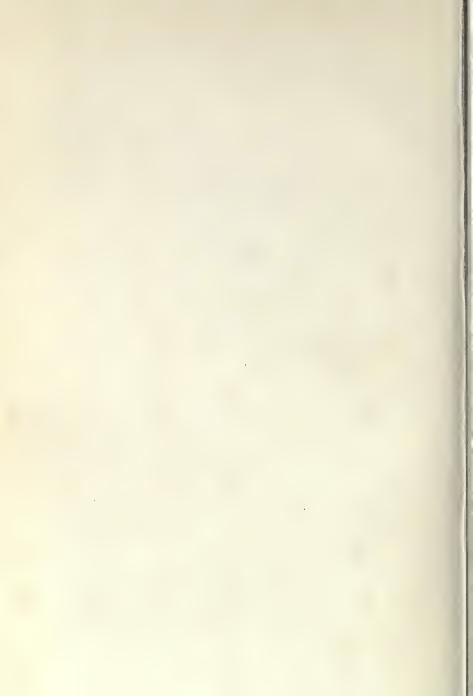
These words of Burnet describe the Covenanters of Old Mortality. It was a rebellion of fanatics—of fanatics who had been outlawed and cut off from human society, not because they were fanatics, but because they had worshipped God on the hill-sides. They demanded the Covenant, but it was not the Covenant which had driven them into rebellion.

Lauderdale did not have the glory of suppressing the rising, for his opponent, the Duke of Monmouth, was sent to command the army which was raised to meet the rebels. The Covenanters were divided in opinion and in council. So strong was the force of fanaticism that they quarrelled among themselves as to whether the Indulgence should be included in their grievances against the Government. Prayers and sermons accentuated this ridiculous quarrel at the very time when their untrained and badly armed levies were facing the royal forces at Bothwell Bridge. They offered to treat with Monmouth on the basis of the summoning of a free General Assembly and a free Parliament, but he naturally declined to deal with rebels in arms, and the battle began. Incompetent leadership added to the difficulties of the rebels; they failed to use the advantage given them by the ground,



THE GREAT HALL OF THE PARLIAMENT HOUSE, EDINBURCH. Page 287.

It was built between 1632 and 1640, and, before the Union, was the meeting-place of the Scottish Parliament.



and allowed the Royalists to seize Bothwell Bridge and bring across their artillery. The Covenanting cavalry was thrown into disorder by the guns, and, as at Dunbar, the horse threw the infantry into confusion. Four hundred were killed, and Monmouth brought over 1,000 prisoners to Edinburgh, where for five months they were confined in the open air in Greyfriars' Churchyard. Some of them signed a promise to keep the peace, but over 200 were shipped off to the plantations in the Barbadoes. Their vessel was wrecked off the Orkneys, and most of them were drowned. Only seven were executed.

The comparative mildness of the Government's revenge is to be attributed to Monmouth, under whose influence a third Indulgence was issued. He was wise enough to see that "all this madness of field conventicles flowed only from the severity against those which were held within doors," and Burnet tells us that he obtained an order from the King "for allowing meeting houses, but the Duke of Monmouth's interest sunk so soon after this, that these were scarce opened when they were shut up again." The Duke of York was sent to Scotland in December, 1679, and, though he was not permanently resident, he was largely responsible for the administration up to 1682, and, indeed, until his own succession to the throne. James Stuart was not naturally fitted to carry out a policy of conciliation, but Burnet, who did not love him, admits that he "advised the Bishops to proceed moderately . . . in matters of justice showed an impartial temper, and encouraged all propositions relating to trade; and so, considering how much that nation was set against his religion, he made a greater progress in gaining upon them than was expected." Moderation is not the quality most generally associated with his administration of Scotland, but he was by no means solely responsible for the severities which gave to these years the name of the Killing Time. For twenty years the Government had

put wisdom and moderation away from them; by persecution and injustice they had aroused to madness the fanatical spirit of the Solemn League and Covenant.

"A strange spirit of fury had broke loose on some of the Presbyterians," says Burnet. "These held that the King had lost the right to the crown by breaking the Covenant, which he had sworn at his coronation, so they said he was their King no more, and by a formal Declaration they renounced all allegiance to him."

The Declaration of Sanquhar was issued on June 22, 1680, but Charles Stewart, whom Donald Cargill and Richard Cameron and their followers disowned, had been since 1660 guilty of the "perjury and breach of covenant to God and His Kirk," for which they now declared him incapable of reigning. Fanaticism is always blind to its own best argument and frequently unconscious of its actual motives; not the royal perjury but the royal tyranny was the real cause of the King's "deposition." The leaders of the movement, the preachers and the country gentlemen, had all been excepted from the Indemnity which Monmouth had secured for the rebels at Bothwell Bridge, and doomed and outlawed men naturally grasp at wild expedients.

The Declaration of Sanquhar was, of course, a challenge which no Government could refuse, and it was essential that the King's authority should be established. In a skirmish at Aird's Moss, in July, 1680, Richard Cameron, from whom the name of Cameronians was given to the rebels, was killed, and among the prisoners was Hackston of Rathillet, who had been present at Sharp's murder. For Hackston there would be no mercy, nor is it reasonable to blame the Government for executing Cameron's colleague, Donald Cargill, when they captured him in the following summer. In the interval he had solemnly excommunicated at Torwood, the King, the Dukes of York, Monmouth, Lauderdale, and Rothes, General

Dalziel, and Sir George Mackenzie. The treatment of the rank and file of the Cameronians indicates the vindictiveness and lack of foresight which had marked the whole of the reign. Two women among the prisoners were offered their lives if they would say on the scaffold, "God bless the King!" The offer was refused. "One of them said very calmly, she was sure God would not bless him, and that therefore she would not take God's name in vain; the other said, more sullenly, that she would not worship that idol, nor acknowledge any other King but Christ, and so both were hanged." Burnet describes them as suffering from madness, "for they never attempted anything against any person, only they seemed glad to suffer for their opinions." To encourage such an ambition was criminal folly.

Parliament, which had not met since 1674, was assembled in 1681 with the Duke of York as Royal Commissioner. The present discontents were less in the mind of the Duke than future contingencies. Additional penalties were imposed for attendance at conventicles, and, in accordance with the policy of the last twenty years, the penal laws against Roman Catholics were to be put into force "against all Phanatick Separatists from this National Church, preachers at hous or feild Conventicles and the resetters and harborers of Preachers who are inter-communed." But these measures were not the object of the meeting of the Estates. The Exclusion Bill in England had inspired James to make certain of his position in Scotland, and this Parliament passed an Act declaring it perjury and rebellion to attempt to alter the lineal succession to the throne. A new oath was drawn up to be imposed on "all persons in public trust." to whom this oath was administered expressed his approval of the Confession of Faith of 1560, and vowed never to "consent to any change or alteration contrary thereto." He affirmed the royal supremacy and his own

conviction that it was "unlawful for subjects . . . to enter into Covenants or Leagues, or to convocat . . . any Councils, Conventions, or Assemblies, to treat, consult, or determine in any matter of State, civil or ecclesiastical, without His Majesty's special command." Finally, he swore that he was under no obligation by Covenant or otherwise, to "endeavour any change or alteration in the Government, either in Church or State as it is now established," and promised never to "decline His Majesty's power and jurisdiction." The Confession of Faith of 1560 said that the Lord Jesus "is the only Head of the Kirk," and this was not the only inconsistency in this extraordinary document. The pretence that it was an anti-Popery Act could deceive no one, for the Commissioner to the Parliament was a Roman Catholic, and exemptions from the test were allowed to the royal family, from whom alone a Roman peril was now to be feared. Eighty of the episcopal clergy gave up their livings rather than take this test, and the Earl of Argyll, who took it "as far as it is consistent with itself," found that he had made himself liable to a charge of treason for defaming the King's laws. He was tried, found guilty, and escaped. Nothing that any of the fanatics had done or said could exceed the absurdity of this prosecution.

The Duke of York returned to England in 1682, and the Earl of Aberdeen became Chancellor of Scotland. The constant exaction of fines gave to the conformist clergy in the west unwilling congregations, who came to church to talk or sleep. But there was still a remnant of irreconcilable opponents, and the apprehensions of the Government were roused by the Whig plots in England, in which Scottish Whigs were known to be implicated, and by fears of a Dutch invasion under the auspices of the exiled Argyll. In May, 1684, the Earl of Perth succeeded Aberdeen as Chancellor, and the thumbscrews





JOHN (ERSKINE), SIXTH OR ELEVENTH EARL OF MAR. Page 293.

Born in 1675, advocated a Treaty of Union with England in 1705, a Secretary of State for Great Britain in 1713, commanded Jacobites at Sheriffmuir in 1715, and died at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1732.

From the painting in the possession of the Earl of Mar and Kellie.

were called in to aid the torture of the boot. The rebels now took a step which completely alienated public sympathy. In October, 1684, under the influence of James Renwick, an outlawed preacher who believed in the principles of Phineas, they issued an "Apologetic Declaration" in which they announced their intention of punishing, after proper investigation, all officers of the law employed against them, including in the number "viporous and malicious Bishops and curates" who gave information to the civil or military authorities. Some murders followed the Declaration, and the Government placed the west under martial law. Dalziel and Claverhouse, who were entrusted with the command of the troops, gave implicit obedience to their instructions. Rebels who abjured the Declaration were given a trial, and were generally sentenced to transportation and the loss of an ear; refusal to abjure was followed by instant death, as in the case of John Brown of Priesthill, who declared that "he knew no King," whereupon Claverhouse, in his own words, "caused shoot him dead, which he suffered very unconcernedly." Women who were fanatical enough to persist in adherence to the Declaration found their sex and their helplessness no protection against the law, and the legal murder of two women who were drowned at Wigtown in 1684 lived on in popular tradition, long after the wild Declaration for which they suffered was generally forgotten.

When James VII. succeeded his brother in 1685, an Act of Parliament made death the penalty for mere attendance at a conventicle. For this, the most severe legislative measure against the Covenanters, it is possible to plead the excuse of Argyll's rebellion in the interests of the Duke of Monmouth. The Government were well warned, and when Argyll landed in his own country, he found a force ready to receive him, and after many changes of strategy, he marched into the Lowlands,

where internal dissensions led to the dispersion of his army. Argyll himself was captured and executed on his old sentence. The last Conventicle Act was not the only proof of the cruel terror which from time to time drove the Government to fresh atrocities. Covenanting prisoners had frequently suffered great hardships on the Bass Rock, but the Bass Rock did not now afford sufficient accommodation, and a hundred men and women were imprisoned in a vault in Dunnottar Castle, under conditions which suggest the "Black Hole of Calcutta." Burning matches between their fingers formed the penalty for an attempt to escape. Most of them were ultimately transported to the plantations.

James now changed his policy. His Scottish Parliament had mourned the death of Charles II. "to all the degrees of grief that are consistent with our great joy for the succession of your sacred majesty," but they were not prepared to repeal the penal laws, and James dissolved the Estates in 1686, and governed through the Privy Council, which he filled with Roman Catholics. Indulgences were proclaimed in 1687, and were received with some gratitude by Presbyterians less extreme than the Cameronians. Renwick still protested, and was caught and hanged at Edinburgh early in 1688, the last martyr for the Covenant. "Though he might die in Christ, yet he died not for Him," was a contemporary Presbyterian verdict on his death. He was only twentysix, and his whole life had been spent in Restoration Scotland. Enthusiasm and devotion had been converted, by his brief experience of the life of a hunted people, into a wild fanaticism which brought suffering and death to many of his followers as well as to himself.

The measures by which James attempted to force toleration upon Scotland were similar to those which he adopted in England. Two of the Scottish Bishops were dismissed; Protestants were expelled from the Privy Council, municipal corporations were filled with royal nominees, Holyrood was given to the Roman Catholics as a place of worship and education. Episcopalians and Presbyterians joined in detesting the toleration of Roman Catholics, and the birth of the Prince of Wales created in Scotland the same feeling of alarm for the future as it evoked in England. William of Orange addressed a proclamation to Scotland which was widely circulated, and when the news of his landing and the flight of King James reached Edinburgh in December, 1688, the Royal Chapel at Holyrood was sacked by an Edinburgh mob. On Christmas Day, the Cameronians took their revenge upon the clergy of the west by evicting them from manse and church, and by threatening them with penalties similar to those of the Six Mile Act which had been directed against themselves. On the whole, the Cameronian vengeance was slighter than it might have been, though Christmas evictions must have involved much suffering. The "rabbling of the curates" was the single triumph of the extreme party, for the expulsion of the Stewarts was not to mean a return to the Covenant.



THUMBIKINS FOR TORTURE: AT ABBOTSFORD.

Not used in Scotland before 1684.

CHAPTER X

MODERN SCOTLAND

EARLY in April, 1689, a Convention Parliament met at Edinburgh. At one bound the Estates adopted the constitutional principles for which English Parliaments had fought since the fourteenth century. The Scottish constitutionalism of the reign of William of Orange was the gift of England; it had but small roots in the past of a country where freedom had not broadened from precedent to precedent. The Scottish Parliament had played an insignificant part in the making of the nation, but the mere existence of Parliamentary institutions is always potentially a menace to any Government not founded on the will of the people. If the Estates had not fought for power it was equally true that they had never been beaten, and they could reasonably argue that what they had not dared to oppose had depended upon their sanction and concurrence. If constitutionalism was young, it was also vigorous, and the Scottish Convention went beyond the English in its assumption of complete and uncontrolled power. There was, at Edinburgh, no suggestion that the King's flight amounted to abdication, with which the Tories at Westminster tried to soothe their disquieted consciences. James VII., by a long series of illegal acts, had forfeited the Crown. It was offered to William and Mary on conditions similar to those of the English Bill of Rights, but with one important

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addition. The new Sovereigns must undertake to disestablish the Episcopal Church.

The language in which this clause of the Claim of Rights was expressed marks the beginning of the modern Scottish attitude to ecclesiastical polity, and the abandonment of the untenable claims of the past. It contained no hint of a Covenant, and no reference to the Divine right of Presbytery, and it based the demand upon popular sanction:

"That Prelacy and the superiority of any office in the Church above Presbyters is and hath been a great and insupportable grievance and trouble to this Nation, and contrary to the Inclinations of the generality of the people ever since the Reformation (they having been reformed from popery by presbyters), and therefore ought to be abolished."

The statesmen who drew up this form of words represented the moderate Presbyterian party, and they had to face the bitter opposition of the extremists, who, in 1690, as in 1660, would be content with nothing less than the Solemn League and Covenant, the neglect of which, they held, "involved this nation into a most fearful perjury before God." A graver and more immediate danger came from the supporters of King James. As the Great Rebellion had converted the Scottish Episcopalians into a Royalist party, the Revolution made them Jacobites, and they could rely on the support of Highlanders and Roman Catholies.

"To the Lords of Convention, 'twas Claverhouse spoke, 'Ere the King's Crown go down, there are crowns to be broke.'"

In the early summer of 1689 Edinburgh Castle was being held for King James, and Claverhouse, now Viscount Dundee, was collecting an army of Highlanders, with which to emulate the heroic deeds of his kinsman,

Montrose. On June 13 the Castle of Edinburgh surrendered, and on July 27 Dundee was killed at Killie crankie. The battle was a Jacobite victory, but the loss of the leader proved the death-blow to the cause, and military resistance soon came to an end. Dundee's rising, which showed the strength of the episcopal party, correspondingly weakened the Presbyterian contention that the majority of the nation was opposed to Prelacy, and there was considerable discussion over the ecclesiastical settlement. The Estates, in their formal communications with William, had referred to Presbytery, not by name, but as "the form of Church government now desired," and in the session of 1689 they had introduced a Bill abolishing "Prelacy and all superiority of office" in the Church of Scotland. William, in spite of the condition on which the crown had been offered to him, hesitated about the establishment of Presbytery, and if the extremists had been leading the Presbyterian party the Revolution settlement might have been different. But the Moderates, under the guidance of William Carstares, satisfied William that in their victory lay the road to peace, and the Parliament of 1690 rescinded the Acts establishing Episcopacy and the royal supremacy over the Church, restored the Presbyterian ministers ejected in 1661, ratified the Westminster Confession of Faith, re-enacted the "Golden Act" of 1592, and abolished lay patronage. Except for the supersession of the Knoxian by the Westminster Confession, the whole of the history of the Church from 1592 to 1689 was thus ignored, to the indignation of the Cameronians. The Cameronian or "Society" ministers submitted to the General Assembly which met in 1690, but their followers declined to acknowledge uncovenanted Sovereigns and an uncovenanted Church, and they remained outside the Establishment, and formed the first of the numerous secession Churches.

At the time of the Union with England the "United Societies of the witnessing Remnant of the anti-Popish, anti-Prelatic, anti-Erastian, anti-Sectarian, true Presbyterian Church of Christ in Scotland" issued a vehement protest against the "sinful incorporating Union" with a Prelatic country, and laid stress on the danger of exposing the country "to the just judgment of God" by the toleration of "Anabaptists, Erastians, Socinians, Arminians, Quakers, Theists, and Libertines of all kinds ... venting and vomiting up their damnable and hellish tenets and errors." The moderation of the Revolution settlement could not, of course, destroy in a moment the effect of a century of intolerance, and the history of the Established Church was stained in 1697 by the execution of a youth called Thomas Aikenhead for a blasphemous denial of the doctrine of the Trinity. The circumstances of his case added to the wicked injustice of the sentence, and his death is a blot both upon the re-established Church and upon the Government of the country.

The episcopal clergy who refused to acknowledge William and Mary were driven from their parishes, but those who took the oath were permitted to retain their livings, though deprived of their share in the government of the Church. In the episcopal area in the north-east it was not until after the Rising of 1715 that the parishes were filled with clergy of Presbyterian sympathies, and in the Highlands a still longer period often elapsed before the Presbyterian Church was established. A Presbyterian minister was not inducted to the parish of Lairg till 1714, to Lochcarron or to Lochbroom till 1726, to Applecross till 1731, or to Glenshiel till 1739. The episcopal gentry of the Highlands, and especially of Ross-shire, succeeded in keeping parishes vacant, and when a "Whig minister" was appointed, sometimes barricaded the church doors to prevent his entrance. In 1731 the minister of Lochcarron petitioned to be removed from his parish. "His life, he set forth, was in constant danger, and one family constituted his sole audience."* The Presbytery refused to grant his request, and, like others of his contemporaries, he lived to win the confidence and affection of his parishioners and to bring them into communion with the Church. The breach between Episcopalian and Presbyterian was widened by the sufferings of the ejected clergy, and by the loyalty of the Episcopalians to the House of Stewart, and when, in the reign of Queen Anne, the Episcopal Church began to use the English Liturgy, differences of doctrine and history were accentuated by the contrast between its services and those of the Church of Scotland, which had now entirely abandoned Knox's Book of Common Order, and was beginning to depart from the rules of the Westminster Directory.

The struggles of the seventeenth century had widened the breach between Highlands and Lowlands. In the literature of the sixteenth century we find a series of jests at the Gaelic tongue, the kilt, and the bagpipes, and in the course of the century "Scots" came to be used for the Lowland tongue. The speech of the Highlanders, hitherto invariably described as the Lingua Scotica, is called by sixteenth - century writers "Erse" or "Irish." Religious differences at the Reformation increased the cleavage caused by the English and French influences which had introduced a new civilization into the Lowlands, and the struggle between Presbytery and Episcopacy created, in the South of Scotland, a bitter

* Sage, Memorabilia Domestica, or Parish Life in the North of

Scotland, p. 16 (Wick, W. Rae, 1889).

† There is a possible exception in Barbour's Bruce (Book XVIII., 1, 443), "Then gat he all the Erischry that war intill his company, of Argyle and the Ilis answa." "Erischry" here has sometimes been taken to mean the Scottish Highlanders, but its regular usage in Barbour is for Irishmen, and this is probably the meaning here. If not, there is no parallel instance for over a century.

dislike for the Highlanders. A memorable event of the reign of William and Mary provided the first illustration of the revival of sympathy between Lowlanders and Highlanders. December 31, 1692, had been appointed as the latest day for the submission of the Highland chiefs to the new Government. MacDonald of Glencoe. one of the chiefs who had followed Dundee, arrived at the newly erected Fort William in the last days of the month. The commandant had no power to receive his oath of allegiance, and it was not till January 6, 1692, that he was able to reach the Sheriff of Argyll at Inverary and make his submission. Whether William was aware of the circumstances is uncertain, but on January 16 he advised the Scottish authorities "to extirpate that sect of thieves." Campbell of Glenlyon, an hereditary enemy of the Macdonalds, acting with the knowledge of Sir John Dalrymple of Stair, the Under Secretary of State, resolved to execute the royal command not only to its fullest extent, but by methods of revolting treachery. On February 1, 1692, he led a force into the Pass of Glencoe. He and his men were received with friendship and hospitality, and remained for nearly a fortnight as the guests of the MacDonalds. Meanwhile, he was arranging to close the passes to prevent the escape of his hosts, and early in the morning of February 13, the soldiers murdered MacDonald, and began to massacre his clansmen. In the darkness of a winter morning, his precautions failed to preclude escape, but over thirty MacDonalds were slain in cold blood. The Government of William and Mary had merely followed precedents set by Murray, Morton, and James VI., and they were startled by the indignation which their crime evoked in Scotland and France, and even in England. But the atrocious treachery of Glenlyon differentiated the attack on the MacDonalds from similar measures taken in

earlier reigns; public opinion may have become more sensitive to deeds of this description; and the Jacobites did not fail to draw attention to the benevolent government of the usurpers. Three years after the massacre, William was compelled to appoint a Commission of Inquiry which did its best to shield the King's personal reputation. He himself had the courage to stand by his ministers, and the criminals were not punished.

To divert the attention of the Lowlanders from the Glencoe incident and from ecclesiastical squabbles which were disturbing the King's relations with the Established Church, the Government, in 1695, encouraged the formation of a Scottish company to trade with Africa and the Indies. Scottish commerce had declined in the course of the seventeenth century. The ancient commercial relations with France and the Netherlands had been destroyed by English foreign policy, and the long Civil War had exhausted the country. A report on the Scottish Burghs, drawn up in 1692, shows that in Glasgow "near five hundred houses were standing waste," that the Harbour of Ayr was ruinous, and that the High Street of Dumfries contained scarcely a habitable house. Efforts were now being made to recover lost ground, and William Paterson, the founder of the Bank of England, was the originator of the unfortunate African Company, which is remembered for its great failure, an attempt to colonize the Isthmus of Darien. William, immersed in foreign wars, did not understand the effect of the trading privileges or of the powers of military colonization which were conferred on the Company by an Act of the Scottish Parliament to which the royal assent was given. These powers awakened the jealousy of the English Commons who denounced the Directors as guilty of high crimes and misdemeanours. English capital was withdrawn, and in face of English opposition the chances of creating a successful trading company disappeared. The Directors, under the influence of Paterson, decided to colonize the Isthmus of Darien, which he regarded as the natural centre of American trade. In the end of 1698, 1,200 Scots landed on the shores of the Gulf of Darien. They had difficulties with the Spaniards, and the English colonies at New York, in the Barbadoes, and in Jamaica, were forbidden to render them assistance. Without adequate resources, and without proper organization or efficient leadership, they soon fell victims to disease and famine, and subsequent expeditions found only empty huts. Finally, the Spaniards drove out the Scots. The King had personally used his influence against the company, and his foreign policy was largely responsible for its failure.

"Wilful Willie" was never forgiven in Scotland, and Carstares (like Lady Margaret Bellenden some years earlier) feared that "the evil spirit of the year sixteen hundred and forty twa was at wark again"; but the moral of the situation was not war but peace. tragedy of Darien convinced the Scots that trade could flourish only after a union of the kingdoms. The commercial classes had held this view since the time of Cromwell, and had shown anxiety for a Union in 1670. William had urged it at the beginning of his reign, and in his closing years the question was again discussed. A purely personal Union of the Crowns of two independent kingdoms had worked well enough under an absolute monarch. But the Scottish Parliament which, in 1690 had compelled William to assent to the abolition of the Lords of the Articles, had become a free, if not a representative, assembly, and it regarded itself as the ruler of the country, and wished to interfere even in questions of foreign policy. The English Parliament was making similar claims, and a constitutional monarch less arbitrary than William might have found it impossible to conduct the business of the country. There was thus a constitutional as well as a commercial necessity for a Union, but both would have been satisfied by a Union of a federal type. The death, in 1700, of the only surviving child of the Princess Anne, and the consequent Act of Settlement passed by the English Parliament, created a necessity for an incorporating Union. The Revolution Settlements provided that Anne should succeed William on the thrones of both England and Scotland; but the Scottish Parliament was free to choose, on the death of Anne, a Sovereign other than "the most excellent Princess Sophia" or her son George, the Elector of Hanover. The problem of the last year of William's reign was to bind Scotland, indissolubly, to the succession of the House of Hanover.

William II., as his title ran in Scotland, died in March, 1702, and the solution of the problem was reserved for Queen Anne's Whig Ministers. Her first English Parliament appointed Commissioners to meet representatives of the Estates of Scotland; but its sympathies were Tory, and the Tory party had no enthusiasm for the Union. The Occasional Conformity Bill which passed the English Commons caused serious alarm for the safety of the Established Church of Scotland under an incorporating Union, and the English Commissioners hesitated about the question of freedom of trade. The negotiations fell through, and the Scots at once removed the restrictions on the importation of wine from France, then at war with England. In the summer of 1703, the Scottish Parliament passed a Bill of Security. It named no successor to Queen Anne, but invested the Parliament with the power of the Crown in the event of her dying without heirs, and entrusted to it the choice of a Protestant Sovereign "from the royal line." It contemplated the possibility of ignoring the claim of the House of Hanover, for it provided that the Union of the Crowns should come to an end unless Scotland was admitted to equal trade and navigation privileges with England. If this condition was fulfilled, and the next Sovereign of England was selected to fill the Scottish throne, he was not to have the power of declaring war or making peace without the consent of the Scottish Estates. Further clauses pro-



THE BORDER COUNTIES, SHOWING THE SITES OF THE CHIEF BATTLE-FIELDS.

vided for the compulsory training of every Scotsman to bear arms, in order that, if necessity should arise, the country might defend its independence with the sword.

This famous measure thus raised, in an acute form, the constitutional, the political, and the commercial issue alike. It was supported in the Scottish Parliament by discontented Presbyterians who feared for the safety of the Church, by the Patriot or Country party, whose aim was to preserve, at all hazards, the national in dependence, and by the Jacobites to whom it gave hopes that the struggle which would follow the Queen's death might result in a Restoration. In England it was naturally accepted as a menace, and the Queen refused to give her assent to it. The Estates, following English precedents, declined to vote supplies, and sent up the Bill again in 1704, and the Country party, led by the Republican Fletcher of Saltoun, began to ask if the royal assent was more than a customary formality. The army in Scotland was unpaid, and Godolphin, in August, advised the Queen to sanction the Act of Security. She did so, but the news of Marlborough's victory of Blenheim at once removed many difficulties from the path of the English Ministers, who proceeded to meet insult with insult, and passed an Act declaring that, if the Scots did not accept the Hanoverian succession by Christmas Day, 1705, all Scotsmen were to become aliens in England, and ships of war were to be sent to prevent the Scots from trading with France. So confident were they of the efficacy of the threat, that the same Act empowered the Queen to appoint Commissioners to treat for a Union. The temper of the two nations was further exasperated by English belief in the existence of a great Jacobite plot in Scotland, and by the execution, at Edinburgh, of three officers of an English trading vessel, who were suspected of piracy.

It was clear in the winter of 1704-05 that the English must "fall out with the Scots or unite with them."

"The people," says Daniel Defoe, who was the English agent in Edinburgh, "seemed exasperated against one another to the highest degree; the governments seemed bent to act counter to one another in all their councils; trade clashed between them in all its circumstances . . .; England laid a new impost upon Scots cloth; Scotland

prohibited all the English woollen manufacture in general, and erected manufactories among themselves. . . . Scotland freely and openly exported their wool to France, Germany, and Sweden, to the irreparable loss of the English manufactures, having great quantities of English wool brought into Scotland over the borders, which it was impossible for England to prevent. . . . England was proceeding to prohibit the importation of Scots cattle and to interrupt by force their trade with France; and had this last proceeded to practice, all the world could not have prevented a war between both nations."

When Anne's only Scottish Parliament met for its third session in June, 1705, a letter was read from the Queen in which she instructed the Estates to "go to the settlement of the succession before all other business," and earnestly recommended the passing of "an Act for a Commission to set a Treaty on foot between the kingdoms, as our Parliament of England has done." After two months' debates an Act for the appointment of a Commission was carried, on August 31. Next day, the leader of the anti-Unionists, the Duke of Hamilton, proposed that the nomination of the Commissioners should be left to the Queen. His party was taken by surprise and the motion was carried. The full effect of their leader's treachery was not at first apparent, but this decision meant that nearly all the Scottish representatives were men resolved to bring about a Union on almost any terms. Both sides impressed Defoe as coming together "with the true spirit of the Union among them." and as determined "to pursue it by all the most proper methods to bring it to pass." Not the expediency of a Union, but the terms on which a Union could be accomplished, formed the subject discussed by the Commissioners.

Their task was rendered much easier by the English elections of 1705. The glories of Blenheim gave the

Whigs a majority, and Godolphin and his colleagues were able to approach the question of Union without fear of Parliamentary difficulties at home. In Scotland, the Country party had been weakened by a division in its ranks, and the Government was more likely to be able to carry its projects. The Presbyterian party had a majority in the Estates; they were undoubtedly sensitive about any danger to the Establishment, but, on the other hand, they represented the commercial interests of the nation, and to them, if to them alone, freedom of trade was a positive inducement to consent to the incorporation of Scotland with England. Members of the other parties might have been persuaded to accept a federal Union, and there was much talk of some such compromise. But a federal Union would have left open the possibility of secession, and would have been an inadequate guarantee of the security of the Hanoverian House, and Queen Anne's English Ministers wisely decided, in the words of Defoe, to be satisfied with nothing less than "a general, compleat, intire and indissoluable Union of interests and parties, depending upon equalities of privileges, and equalities of burdens; equalities of prospects, and equalities, if possible, in desires."

The policy of conciliation was inaugurated by the repeal of the Aliens Act which threatened hostilities against Scottish trade. Its existence had almost wrecked the preliminaries of Union in the Scottish Parliament, and when the new English Parliament assembled the Queen advised its repeal, which was carried, not without opposition. English and Scottish Commissioners met on April 16, 1706, and the Treaty of Union was completed by July 23. The Scottish members of the Commission were at once given the choice between accepting the principle of an incorporating Union, and putting an end to the discussions. On April 25 they assented to an entire



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MARSHAL KEITH. Page 294.

James Francis Edward Keith was exiled for his share in the '15; attained great distinction in the service of Russia, and afterwards in that of Prussia; was made Field-Marshal by Frederick the Great in 1747; and was mortally wounded at Hochkirk in 1757.

From the painting by Blakey.



Union, "with one and the same Parliament," on condition that "all the subjects of the United Kingdom of Great Britain shall have full freedom and intercourse of trade and navigation," and their English colleagues agreed to the provision as "a necessary consequence for an entire Union." After this, the negotiations went easily on, although financial questions caused many difficulties in detail. The retention of the system of Scots law satisfied the lawyers, who might have been dangerous opponents of the scheme both in the Estates and in the country, and it was equally necessary to promise the preservation of heritable jurisdictions, if the treaty was to have any chance of success. The Scots agreed to accept, with certain exemptions, the English system of taxation, and they were to receive the sum of £398,085 10s. as an "Equivalent" for the share which the country would take in the English National Debt, and as compensation for the losses of the Darien and other companies. The representation of Scotland in the united Parliament was the portion of the treaty least satisfactory to the Scottish Commissioners. With difficulty, they obtained a representation of forty-five in the British House of Commons. It was impossible to regard the number as adequate, but the English Commissioners definitely informed them "that they could go no farther, upon which the Scots Commissioners, from the same zeal for bringing the treaty to a conclusion, acquiesced." If the Scottish representatives had been elected by the Estates, the treaty might well have been wrecked upon this point, if it had ever got so far. Of the forty-five members, thirty were ultimately, in accordance with the suggestion of the Scottish Parliament, allotted to the shires; each shire was to elect one representative, except the three groups of Bute and Caithness, Clackmannan, and Kinross, and Nairn, and Cromarty. In each of these

groups, an election was to be made alternately by the two counties; thus Bute, Clackmannan, and Nairn each elected a member in 1708, and Caithness, Kinross, and Cromarty in 1710. The royal burghs, which alone were represented in the Scottish Estates, were (except Edinburgh which had a member of its own) divided into fourteen groups, each possessing one member. The various burghs in each group were to "elect a Commissioner in the same manner as they are now in use to elect Commissioners to the Parliament of Scotland," and the Commissioners were to meet and choose the member. The Scottish representation in the Lords was even less adequate than in the Commons, for the peers of Scotland were to elect to each Parliament sixteen representatives. This provision was, however, not likely to be fatal to the treaty, for the Scottish peerage was to be closed, and the nobles who had complained of recent creations of "upstart lords" were gratified by a measure which would prevent "reducing their honour by multiplying their numbers," and would "distinguish them from ... the modern nobility."

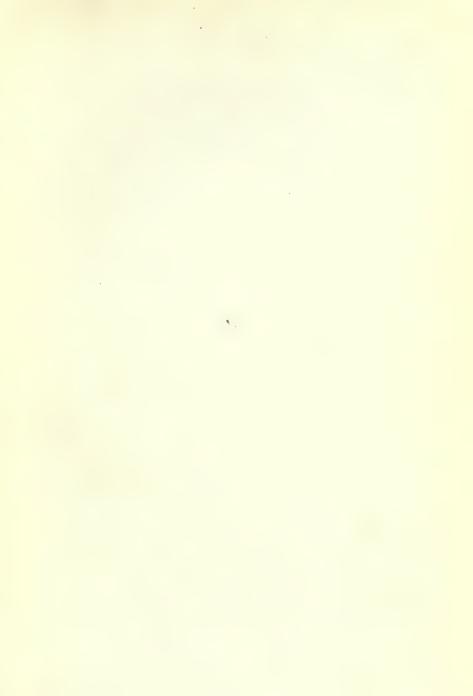
The Scottish Estates met on October 3 to consider the terms of the treaty. They had themselves forbidden the Commissioners to discuss "any alteration of the worship, discipline, and government of the Church of this kingdom as now by law established." The treaty, therefore, contained no provision for the security of the Church, and, in the excited state of the country, this omission, dictated by the Scottish Parliament itself, was likely to cause serious alarm. The Queen's speech invited the Parliament to bring in a measure for the security of the Established Church, and on November 12 an "Act for securing the Protestant religion and Presbyterian Church Government" was passed, and was subsequently admitted by the English Parliament to be "in

all times coming an essential and fundamental part of the Union." Carstares and the leaders of the Church were satisfied, but a large proportion of the clergy, sharing in the violent antipathy with which an incorporating Union was almost universally regarded, used their influence against the measure. James VI. had thought that freedom of trade would make the Scots consent to a Union in three days, but now that freedom of trade was offered, national feeling was so strong that the Government could not rely on the support of the burgesses in the Estates. The representative of Glasgow, which, more than any other town in Scotland, was to gain by the Union, consistently supported amendments which would have wrecked it, and in the end voted for its rejection. From October, 1706, to January, 1707, the debates went on, and addresses poured in from burghs and parishes all over the country, protesting against the surrender of national independence. There were serious riots in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Dumfries; and plots for an armed raid upon the capital induced the Estates to suspend the operation of the militia clauses of the Act of Security. On January 16 the Treaty, having undergone some slight modifications, was carried by 110 votes to 68. Forty-two nobles, 38 country gentlemen, and 30 burgesses voted for the ratification; the minority was composed of 19 nobles, 30 country gentlemen, and 19 burgesses. The division did not follow the old ecclesiastical lines; burgesses from the Presbyterian South (including the representatives of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and New Galloway) voted in the minority, and members sent from the episcopal north (Elgin, Banff, Nairn, Inverurie) supported the Union. Seventeen of the sixty-six burgess members did not vote. The Treaty was carried in the English Parliament with the addition of an Act for the security of the Church of England, and

received the royal assent on March 6, 1707, and, nineteen days later, amid riot and uproar, and with howls of execration sounding in their ears, the Estates of Scotland met for the last time.

After agreeing to the Treaty of Union, the Scottish Parliament had elected forty-five members to sit in the existing House of Commons at Westminster, and they took their places at the opening of its next session, in October. The General Election of 1708 gave something like national sanction for the Union, possibly because of the attempted French invasion in the beginning of that year. By the date of the next election, in 1710, Scotland was disillusioned and bitter antagonism to the Union added Scottish members to the Tory majority in Anne's last Parliament. Commercial questions and the payment of the Equivalent led to serious irritation; the Scots resented an Act which abolished their own, and introduced the English, law of treason, and, in the words of Professor Hume Brown, "Every interest of Scotland was regarded and treated purely and simply with reference to the exigencies of political parties in England." Under the Tory rule of the last years of Anne's reign the feeling became still more bitter. The Act of Union had provided that no Court sitting in Westminster Hall should receive appeals from the Court of Session.* In 1710 the House of Lords, not sitting in Westminster Hall, reversed a decision of the Court of Session in a case in which the Presbytery of Edinburgh had prosecuted an episcopal clergyman for reading the Anglican Liturgy. In 1710 a Toleration Act was passed to protect Scottish Episcopalians, while English Presbyterians were almost simultaneously subjected to fresh disabilities. In 1712,

^{*} I am indebted to Professor Dicey for calling my attention to this phrase in the Act of Union, which seems to have been intended to convey an impression that decisions of the Court of Session would not be liable to revision by the House of Lords.





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THE PORTEOUS RIOT AT EDINBURGH IN 1736. Page 295. From the painting by James Drummond in the Scottish National Gallery.

by a gross breach of the agreement made at the Union, lay patronage was restored in the Church of Scotland. New taxation pressed heavily on the Scots, who found that their trade had, as yet, rather diminished than increased. In 1713 a motion for the repeal of the Union was defeated in the Lords by a majority of four.

But, unpopular as the Union was at the death of Queen Anne in 1714, hatred of Popery and of Prelacy alike was strong enough to ensure the peaceful accession of King George. In the last months of the Queen's reign, there had been fears that the English Tories would join with the Scottish Jacobites to restore King James, and the Whig Ministers of the new Sovereign were necessarily regarded as the allies of Lowland and Presbyterian Scotland, and to his first Parliament the Scots sent a large proportion of Whigs. The Jacobites prepared for a rising under the Earl of Mar, who had been disappointed both in the results of the Union which he had helped to carry, and in the treatment which he personally received from the Ministers of George I. Mar was an incompetent leader who could not keep his secrets; Louis XIV. died, and the new French Government failed to support the insurrection, and it never seriously endangered the Government. The standard was raised at Braemar on September 6; the Jacobites of the North rallied round it, and James VIII. was proclaimed at Aberdeen, Brechin, and Dundee. On the 28th Mar entered Perth, which became his headquarters for the campaign. Inverness had already been taken by Mackintosh of Borlum, who some weeks later accomplished the feat of transporting by night, in small boats, about 1,500 men across the Firth of Forth, and, after an attempt to take Edinburgh, marched to join the Jacobite force on the borders. An equally daring attack on Edinburgh Castle miscarried, but a Government vessel was captured in the harbour at

Burntisland, and its military stores were carried to Perth. The Earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Forster led the Jacobites of the North of England, and along with Lords Kenmure, Nithsdale, Carnwath, and Wintoun, and the Dumfrieshire Jacobites, they marched to Preston, where, after two days' fighting, they surrendered on November 14. Mar remained at Perth till November 10, waiting in vain for the arrival of King James and a French army, and on the 13th he fought the Battle of Sheriffmuir, near Dunblane, in which the Government troops were commanded by the Duke of Argyll. A well-known ballad describes the drawn Battle of Sheriffmuir, "in which," wrote the future Marshal Keith who fought for King James, "neither side gained much honour, but which was the entire ruin of our party." Mar, instead of marching on Edinburgh, had to retire to Perth, and when King James landed near Peterhead, on December 22, with only a few attendants, there was nothing for him to do but to return to France. He spent three weeks in Perth, during which the country between Perth and Stirling was cruelly devastated to hamper Argyll's northward march. On January 30, the Jacobites left Perth and James escaped by sea from Montrose.

The Lowlanders would not fight for King James, but they would not find guilty of treason the men who had followed Mar, and the sympathy which already existed for the Highlanders was increased by the action of the Government in trying prisoners at Carlisle. The Whig Ministers of George I., apart from this breach of the Treaty of Union, behaved with restraint and moderation in dealing with the prisoners, but they roused indignation by their treatment of forfeited estates, and, as Lowland burghs subscribed for the defence of the prisoners at Carlisle, so the Court of Session devised legal obstacles to prevent the English Government from making money

out of the forfeitures. In 1717 an Act of Pardon was passed for all Jacobites except the unfortunate Mac-Gregors, whose wrongs were successfully avenged by Rob Roy. A Jacobite movement, on a more formidable scale, including an invasion of England by an army from Sweden and Spain, alarmed the Government in 1718, but the death of Charles XII. of Sweden prevented the invasion, and a small Spanish force, which received little support from the Highlanders, was defeated at Glenshiel in June, 1719.

When the Jacobites made their fresh effort in 1745, the throne of the House of Hanover was saved by much the same considerations as in 1715. Trade had not made such progress as the supporters of the Union had hoped, though the foreign trade of Glasgow and Greenock had laid the foundations of their future commercial greatness. The lapse of thirty years had increased the general disinclination to disturb the existing state of affairs, but the opposition of the Lowlanders to Prince Charles Edward was based on the same hatred of Popery as had ruined the cause of his father in the Fifteen. The Government of George I. and George II. had done little to popularize the new dynasty or the Union. Argyll, in spite of his services at Sheriffmuir, was too intimate a friend of the Prince of Wales to remain a Minister of George I., and he was dismissed in 1716, and though two years later he was created Duke of Greenwich, he did not come into power till 1725, when the riots which followed the institution of the Malt Tax compelled Walpole to seek his help. From 1725 till the fall of Walpole in 1742, Argyll was the uncrowned King of Scotland, and the period of his rule was marked by the formation of General Wade's famous roads through the Highlands. The Porteous Riot at Edinburgh in 1736 was a defiance of the Government which might have led to the fall of Argyll and his brother, Lord Islay, but they were supported by Queen Caroline. With the offence of smuggling, which was the original cause of the trouble, the Scots had the strongest sympathy, and the measures taken to avenge the insulted majesty of the law caused widespread indignation.

When Prince Charles Edward raised the standard at Glenfinnan in 1745, he had an even smaller chance of ultimate success than Mar and his followers thirty years before. The Scottish Lowlands were as hostile as ever, and though the north-eastern counties once again evinced their loyalty to the Stewart House, a number of Highland chiefs, through the influence of Duncan Forbes of Culloden, were loyal to the Government. The Prince never commanded a force so large as had been at the disposal of Mar in the autumn of 1715. In England Jacobitism was a spent force, for the years of peace which Walpole had given to the country had satisfied even the squire and the parson that a revolution was against the real interest of the country. But the time of the Rising was well chosen. Great Britain was engaged in a Continental war, and the folly of the Ministry had prevented their taking proper precautions against an insurrection which they had good reason for believing to be imminent. From Glenfinnan. Prince Charles marched on Edinburgh. Sir John Cope, instead of remaining near Stirling to guard the Lowlands, had moved towards Fort Augustus in the hope of putting an end to the rebellion. At Dalwhinnie, the Prince and his 2,000 Highlanders were ready to meet him, but their position was too strong to assault, and Cope decided to make for Inverness and to avoid a conflict. At Perth, on September 4, King James VIII. was a second time proclaimed, and on the 16th Prince Charles demanded the surrender of Edinburgh. The town was not prepared

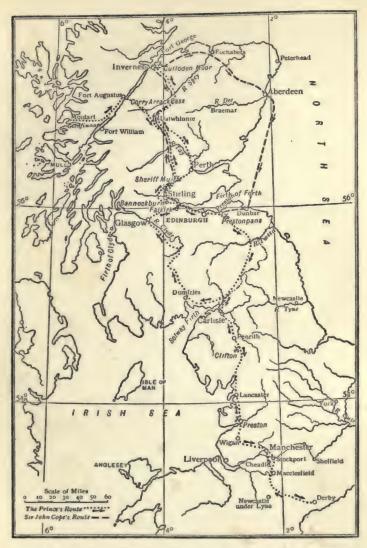
for a siege, the Provost was suspected of Jacobite sympathies, and Cope, who had marched from Inverness to Aberdeen, and embarked his troops, had not reached the port of Dunbar. On the morning of the 17th a Jacobite force entered the city, and the Prince made his triumphal entry.

"When they came into the suburbs," says Lord Elcho, who accompanied Charles to Holyrood, "the crowd was prodigious, and all wishing the prince prosperity; in short, nobody doubted but that he would be joined by 10,000 men at Edinburgh if he could arm them." About 300 recruits, in fact, joined his army. "The commons in general, as well as two-thirds of the gentry, at that period, had," in the opinion of Alexander Carlyle, afterwards minister of Inveresk, "no aversion to the family of Stewart, and could their religion have been secured, would have been very glad to see them on the throne again." This attitude of hypothetical acquiescence was of small assistance to the Prince, who had to rely on his 2,500 Highlanders. On September 18 Sir John Cope landed at Dunbar, and on the 21st he met Charles at Prestonpans. The battle "did not last full a quarter of an hour"; young Carlyle, who had ordered the housemaid to call him "the moment the battle began," had scarcely put on his clothes when his father, who was watching from the steeple of the church at Prestonpans, announced that "we were completely defeated," and already "the whole prospect was filled with runaways, and Highlanders pursuing them." Cope had been surprised and his artillery rendered useless, and Charles Edward commanded the only army in Scotland. His officers prevented his carrying out his intention of advancing at once into England, and he remained at Edinburgh till the end of October. "The Court at the Abbey was dull and sombre," is Carlyle's comment upon the six weeks during

which the wanderer occupied the palace of Mary Stewart; "the Prince was melancholy, he seemed to have no confidence in anybody, not even in the ladies, who were much his friends." The castle was never in his power; he attempted to starve out the garrison, but when they retaliated by firing on the town, the Prince withdrew his order. He did not fail to show mercy; on the field of Prestonpans, he attended to the wounded of the enemy, and he forbade public rejoicings for a victory over his

father's misguided subjects.

Charles Edward had been taught to believe that the Electors of Hanover were cruel tyrants from whom the people of Great Britain were longing for deliverance. These weeks at Edinburgh showed him his error. After his victory at Prestonpans the Highlanders increased in numbers to about 4,500 foot and 400 horse, but the Lowlands remained apathetic, and day after day passed without news of any Jacobite movement in the North of England. On November 9 the Prince's force crossed the border, but a fifth of his men had already deserted, and no Englishmen came to take their places. Carlisle surrendered, after some resistance, and as Charles continued his hopeless march by Penrith, Preston, and Manchester to Derby, he was joined only by some 300 recruits from Manchester. On December 4 the Highlanders entered Derby. Wade was in the North of England with an army which Charles had eluded; the Duke of Cumberland was at Lichfield; their combined forces would outnumber the Highlanders five or six times. Next day, Lord George Murray told the Prince that "the Scots had done all that could be expected of them . . . if he could produce any letter from any person of distinction in which there was an invitation for the army to go to London, they were ready to go." Charles yielded unwillingly. He believed that the consciences of the Elector's troops would forbid



SKETCH-MAP ILLUSTRATING THE CHIEF EVENTS IN THE '45 REBELLION.

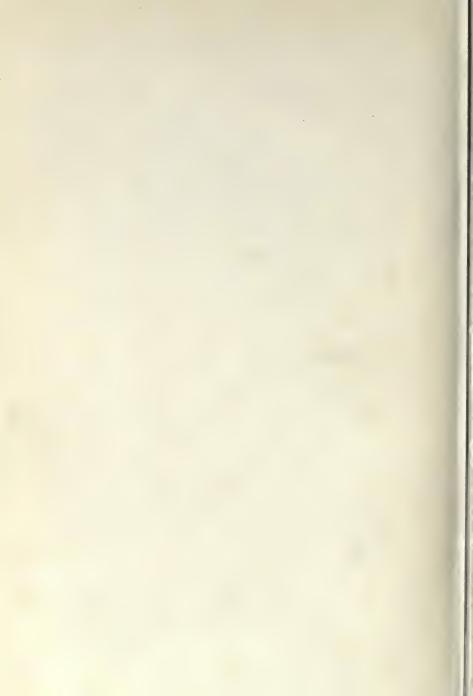
them to fight against their natural Prince, and that "he should enter St. James's with as little difficulty as he had done Holyrood House." He had to give way to a Council of War, and on Friday, December 7, the retreat began; the Prince "who had marched all the way to Derby on foot at the head of a column of infantry, now mounted on horseback, and rode generally after the van of the army and appeared out of humour." The admirable discipline of his force was relaxed, and the country was unfriendly. On the 20th they recrossed the Border, leaving a garrison of 200 doomed men in the castle at Carlisle. Charles, with the larger portion of his army, marched by Dumfries to Glasgow, exacting a money contribution from both towns. In spite of the efforts of Duncan Forbes, reinforcements awaited the Prince on his return to Scotland, and he undertook the siege of Stirling Castle. General Hawley was sent to its relief. Charles turned back, defeated him at Falkirk on January 17, and continued the siege of Stirling Castle. It was again the duty of Lord George Murray to insist on a retreat. The officers pointed out that "vast numbers of their men were gone home," and that they were no way in a condition to face Cumberland's army. The Jacobites left Stirling on February 1, and Cumberland entered it on the 2nd. "Never was there a retreat resembled so much a flight," but they crossed the Forth in safety, and marched in three divisions to attack Inverness. At Moy, Charles narrowly escaped capture, but on February 18 he entered Inverness. The castle surrendered, and, early in March, Fort Augustus fell into his hands. In the last flicker of hope, Charles relied on help from France; he enjoyed shooting-parties, gave balls, and danced with the ladies of Inverness, though he had declined to dance at Holyrood. Meanwhile Cumberland had marched northwards by Perth, Montrose, and Aber-



PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD STUART. Page 296.

Born at Rome in 1720, landed in Inverness-shire in 1745, defeated at Culloden Moor on April 16, 1746, and died at Rome in 1788.

A miniature presented by the Prince to "the Gentle Lochiel," and preserved at Achnacarry.



deen, and on the 14th reached Nairn. The French reinforcements, to which Charles looked for aid, were prevented from landing, and his exhausted and ill-fed force of 5,000 men had to meet 9,000 trained soldiers under the Duke. On April 15, Charles marched to Culloden, and an attempt was made to repeat the surprise attack at Prestonpans. But the Highlanders were no longer equal to such an enterprise, and a march, begun at eight o'clock at night, ended in the return of a tired army to Culloden at six o'clock in the morning of April 16. Cumberland began the attack soon after midday; his artillery broke up the clans; gallant charges were unavailing; and the disaster was final and complete. The Prince escaped from the field, to wander, supported and protected by Highland love and loyalty, until the following September, when, at last, he made good his escape to France. The Duke of Cumberland took the cruel revenge which earned him the nickname of the Butcher, and the Government disarmed the Highlanders, and prohibited the use of the Highland dress.

After the Forty-Five, a series of influences began to work in the Highlands, analogous to those which had changed the civilization of the Lowlands centuries before. The task of the Hanoverian Government was in some respects more difficult than that of the descendants of Malcolm Canmore. In the interval, the clan organization had greatly developed, and clan loyalty had assumed the force of an extravagant devotion. The Church, which had helped to anglicize the Lowlands, was adverse to the process when at last it reached the Highlands. The translation of the Bible into Gaelic secured the permanence of Gaelic as the language of Highland religion, and trade and commerce were of too little importance to render much assistance to the English tongue. On the other hand, the Jacobite risings had weakened

the Highlands, and introduced elements of disunion, and the strongest support of the clan system, the joint ownership of land, had already been destroyed by the feudal laws which ignored its existence, and regarded the chief as the sole proprietor. The clan, as a military unit, ceased to exist when the Highlands were disarmed, and as a unit for administrative purposes, when the heritable jurisdictions, which successive Kings of Scotland had deplored as the ruin of the country, were abolished in 1747. A change of civilization, without a racial displacement, has been taking place in the Highlands since the reign of George II. By 1773, it had made such progress that Dr. Johnson thought that there had never been "any change of national manners, so quick, so great, and so general." The changes cannot, unfortunately, be all ascribed to legislation and the widening of intercourse with the Lowlands and with England. Already in 1773, Dr. Johnson noticed that "the chiefs, divested of their prerogatives, necessarily turn their thoughts to the improvement of their revenues, and expect more rent, as they have less homage," and to the raising of rents "with too much eagerness" he attributed the large amount of emigration of which he was told. "Some method to stop this epidemic desire of wandering deserves to be sought with great diligence," he wrote, and he questioned whether "the general good does not require that the landlords be, for a time, restrained in their demands, and kept quiet by pensions proportionate to their loss." Emigration was partially the natural result of over-crowding in so barren a country, but it is impossible to defend the "clearances" which took place in the early nineteenth century, when "sheep became devourers of men," and large districts of the Highlands were deliberately depopulated for the introduction of sheep farms.

The real interest of the period between the suppression of the Forty-Five and the outbreak of the French Revolution lies in the literary life of the country. Scotland, governed at first by the Duke of Argyll, and later by the first Lord Melville and his son, played an undistinguished part in the politics of the nation. The questions in which the people were interested were connected with such domestic concerns as the deeply resented refusal in 1760 to sanction the creation of a Scottish militia, the scarcity of meal which led to riots in 1772, the successful opposition in 1779 to a moderate measure of Catholic relief, and the abolition of the serfdom of colliers and salters, commenced in 1775, but not completed till 1799. The Augustan Age of literature and of thought in Scotland is the first part of the reign of George III., when Robertson, David Hume, John Home, Hugh Blair, Lord Kames, Lord Monboddo, and Lord Hailes were writing in Edinburgh, Adam Smith in Glasgow, and Thomas Reid, George Campbell, and James Beattie in Aberdeen. In medicine, in chemistry, and in the history of invention, Scotland was also famous, and the intellectual revival could not fail to lead to demands for a great constitutional advance.

The energies of Scottish reformers were divided between Parliamentary and municipal institutions. The total number of county electors was absurdly small; in no county did the electorate much exceed 200, and Bute, which returned a member to every alternate Parliament, possessed only twelve. Readers of Galt's Provost will understand the working of burgh representation and the general state of corruption in the burghs, of which his picture of Gudetown is no exaggeration. The right of a Town Council to elect to vacancies in its own body, carefully, though not always quite successfully manipulated by Provost Pawkie, was derived from an Act of the

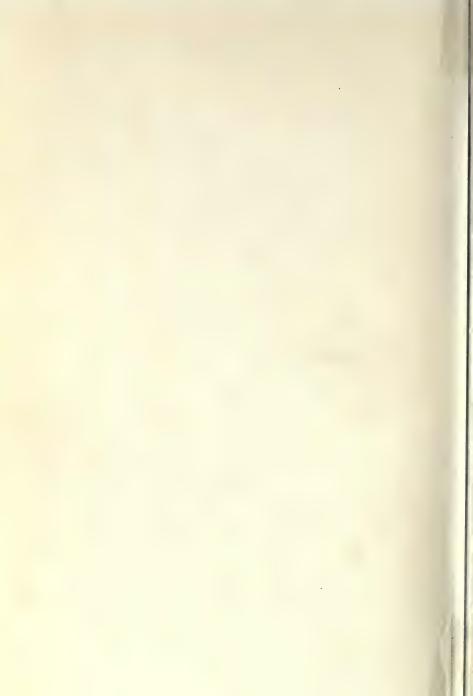
reign of James III., and was the origin of much of the municipal corruption. Before the outbreak of the French Revolution, Parliamentary reform had the support of Pitt and Dundas, but the municipal reformers found no such assistance. The Revolution postponed the settlement of the question for many years. At its beginning, it excited sympathy in Scotland as in England; even so stout a Tory as Sir Walter Scott remarks that it was natural for his old schoolmaster Dr. Adam, the great Rector of the Edinburgh High School, to approve the principles of the Revolution, "for all his ideas of existing government were derived from his experience of the town council of Edinburgh." But as events developed in France, and as the wilder members of the constitutional "Society of the Friends of the People" and of the much more extreme revolutionary societies gave the impression that their intention was to introduce into Great Britain the methods as well as the principles of the French, public alarm became widespread. The Government prosecuted the leaders of the movement for reform, and they could look for no mercy and little justice in the law-courts. "With all their prepossessions," says Lord Cockburn, whose Memorials give us much the best picture of this time, "the judges were not cruel, nor ever consciously unfair. But being terrified, and trying those who were causing their alarm, they could scarcely be expected to enter the temple of justice in a state of perfect composure. . . . But I fear that no impartial censor can avoid detecting, throughout the whole course of the trials, not mere casual indication of bias, but absolute straining for convictions." In August, 1773, Thomas Muir was sentenced to transportation for fourteen years, and the severity of the sentence was in keeping with the unfairness of the trial. There were several other sufferers, but the war with France diverted attention from domestic



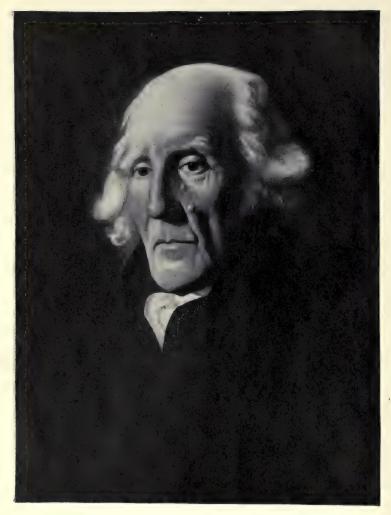
DR. NATHANIEL SPENS IN THE FULL UNIFORM OF THE ROYAL COMPANY OF ARCHERS. Page 306.

Dr. Spens, who was admitted in 1750 and died in 1815, was first Vice-President of the Council.

Reproduced by permission from the portrait by Raeburn in the Archers' Hall, Edinburgh.







DR. ALEXANDER CARLYLE (1722-1805). Page 297.

From a painting by A. Skirving in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh.

affairs, and the dangers of French invasion made the defence of the country the most pressing consideration. For twenty years, says Cockburn, "the whole morality of patriotism was sunk in the single object of acknowledging no defect or grievance in our own system in order that we might be powerful abroad." After the fall of Napoleon, the Tories continued blind to the change which that event had produced, and "resistance of innovation clung to them after it had become plainly absurd." The economic changes which followed the Napoleonic wars increased the natural rebound from Torvism, and from 1816 onwards there were many indications of unrest, which the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act and the passing of the "Six Acts" of 1819 failed to suppress. In 1819 there were fresh prosecutions for sedition, conducted differently from that of Muir, and in 1820 there were serious riots at Glasgow. During a lull in the controversy, George IV. paid, in 1822, the first State visit to Scotland since the coronation of Charles I., and though many passions had been aroused by his treatment of Queen Caroline, the influence of the greatest and noblest name in Scottish literature was sufficient to gain for him an enthusiastic reception. By the time of Sir Walter Scott, the Highlanders had come to speak of Lowland Scots as Saxons, and to believe that the Gaelic tongue connoted a difference of origin and race; and Sir Walter, both in poetry and romance, had not failed to make picturesque use of the theory. But in arranging the King's welcome to Edinburgh, he contrived that the Highlanders should appear as the most typical and distinctive of Scotsmen, and the innocent monarch was so deeply impressed by kilt and bagpipes, that he gave the toast of "the Chieftains and Clans of Scotland" as equivalent to that of the Scottish people. In creating enthusiasm for the story and for the scenery of the Highlands, Scott did not a little to reunite the national feeling of Scotland, and the gradual conversion of the greater portion of the Highlanders to Presbyterianism had by this time removed one of the differences most notable in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Under George IV., there were some tentative efforts at a reform of the burghs, and Catholic Emancipation gained the support of a large and influential minority. But the demand for a reform of the Parliamentary system had not died away, and the excitement was intense during the final struggle for the Reform Bill. The Scottish Reform Act of 1832 raised the representation of Scotland from forty-five to fifty-three, by the addition of eight to the burgh members. Edinburgh and Glasgow received two members each, Aberdeen, Paisley, Perth, Dundee, and Greenock, one each; the groups of burghs were re-arranged, the elections were taken out of the hands of the Town Councils, and the franchise was conferred upon householders with a £10 qualification. The reform of the burghs followed in 1833, and the citizens were empowered to elect their municipal rulers. In the counties, the Reform Act of 1832 gave the franchise to lease-holders as well as to free-holders. Lodger franchise in the burghs was introduced by the Act of 1867, and the qualifications for both freeholders and tenants were reduced in the counties. By the Redistribution Act of 1868, the number of members was increased to sixty, and in 1884-85, the franchise was further extended, and the number of members was increased to seventy-two. Glasgow now sends seven representatives to the House of Commons, Edinburgh four, and Aberdeen and Dundee two each. The county of Lanark has been given six members, and Aberdeenshire, Ayrshire, Fife, Perthshire, Renfrewshire, two members each. The distribution of Parliamentary representation gives some clue to the vast

economic changes which since the suppression of the Forty-Five have been at work in Scotland. The effect of improved methods of agriculture, the rise of the system of banking, the manufacture of cotton, the development of mineral resources, the growth of fishing, and the expansion of home and foreign trade which followed the invention of the steam-engine, cannot be summarized in a paragraph, and it is not for this generation to judge of the effect upon the making of the nation of the enormous increase of wealth in modern times.

The transference of national interests from religious controversy to commercial progress which marked the eighteenth century has never been complete, and there were periods in both the eighteenth and the nineteenth century when theological discussion was once again the predominant force in the country. From the beginning of the eighteenth century to the middle of the nineteenth, there were two parties in the National Church. A considerable minority consistently watched and resented any interference by the State with the principle of spiritual independence, of which a partial and dubious admission had been made at the Revolution. The restoration of patronage afforded a permanent cause of trouble, but there were various other subjects of dispute. For some years, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Abjuration Oath which, as a provision against Jacobitism, was imposed upon every minister of the Church, included the admission that the Sovereign of Scotland ought to be a member of the Church of England. A hundred years later, on the accession of George IV., an Order in Council was issued that every minister and preacher should pray in express words "for his most sacred Majesty King George, and all the royal family." There was a double objection to the order. Express words violated the theory of extempore prayer, and the

prohibition to pray specifically for Queen Caroline was resented as deeply as the Cromwellian prohibition to pray for King Charles II. had been, and the Order was the subject of a long debate in the Assembly. By 1820, there had been a series of secessions from the Established Church, arising almost entirely from results brought about by the Patronage Act, but wide differences of opinion continued within the Church itself. The "Moderate" party, whose aim had been to prevent the wild claims of the seventeenth century from endangering the Revolution settlement, was, at first, greatly strengthened by the Patronage Act, which had been passed by Tories and Jacobites in order to place the clergy under the control of the landowners. The death of Queen Anne, and the measures taken after the suppression of the Rising in 1715, rendered it impossible to employ the Act in the interest of Jacobitism, which, in the Established Church, came to an end with the numerous depositions of clergymen concerned in the rebellion. The Moderate clergy of the middle of the eighteenth century were eminent in literature and in philosophy, and Moderates like Thomas Reid are among the greatest names in Scottish history. The identification of Episcopacy with Jacobitism in 1745 reduced the strength of the Episcopal Church as a rival to the Establishment, but, in the reign of George III., the Scottish Episcopalians became loyal to the House of Hanover, and the Moderates in the Church of Scotland were weakened by the severance of their association with the landowners, many of whom were attached to Episcopacy. A long period of predominance had ruined the Moderates as leaders of public opinion in Scotland, and the closing years of the eighteenth century witnessed a revolt against them. Episcopalians and Seceders rapidly increased in numbers, and the Evangelical party gained a majority in the General Assembly. Like the Tories

in national politics, the Moderates had failed to adjust themselves to new conditions and new interests.

The early years of the eighteenth century were marked by the great Evangelical Revival, led by Andrew Thomson and Thomas Chalmers. The Evangelical party regarded themselves as the inheritors of the traditions of Knox, and they were certainly the disciples of Andrew Melville and Alexander Henderson. The operation of the Patronage Act was, therefore, sure to cause trouble, and from 1833 to 1843 the Evangelicals were engaged in a "Ten Years' Conflict" with the Moderates, and with the State. In the Assembly of 1833, Dr. Chalmers, while denying that "the Church was necessarily to become more Christian by the constitution of it becoming more popular," moved that the dissent of a majority of male heads of families in communion with the Church should compel a Presbytery to refuse a presentation to a parish. right of patronage in Scotland was not absolute, and a Presbytery had the power of judging of the fitness of a minister presented to a parish within its bounds, but the Moderates, regarding this motion as ultra vires, carried an amendment by which Presbyteries were to take into consideration popular disapproval as well as the life and doctrine of the candidate. In 1834 the stronger motion was carried, and, as the "Veto Act," it became the central issue of the conflict. Within a few months, the Presbytery of Auchterarder had to consider a case which came within the terms of the Act, and, with the consent of the Assembly of 1835, it declined to present a candidate to whom a majority of male heads of families The Court of Session in 1837 decided that the presentation was valid, and that the Assembly's Veto Act was ultra vires as an infringement of the Patronage Act of Queen Anne, and their decision was upheld by the House of Lords in 1839. In a similar case

in Aberdeenshire, the Presbytery of Strathbogie, by a majority, resolved to obey the law of the land, and the Assembly suspended the seven ministers who had defied its authority. The minority of the Presbytery, under instructions from the Assembly, made provisions for services in the parishes of the suspended ministers, who appealed for protection to the civil courts. In 1841 the Assembly deposed them from the ministry, and the Court of Session interdicted the Assembly's representatives from preaching in the parishes of the deposed ministers.

The Veto Act was in itself reasonable, and elsewhere than in the Presbyteries of Auchterarder and Strathbogie it had worked well. Parliamentary sanction for its provisions would have been the best way out of the difficulty, but efforts in this direction failed, and a petition against patronage from the Assembly of 1842 was disregarded by the Government. The interdict of the Court of Session upon preaching in the Strathbogie parishes, although it was not enforced, had raised the question of spiritual independence in an acute form, and the Assembly of 1842, by 241 votes to 111, adopted a Claim, Declaration, and Protest, in which it was asserted that Parliamentary statutes "passed without the consent of the Church and nation" to alter the Government, discipline, rights, and privileges of the Church, and sentences of courts of law contravening its government and privileges "are in themselves void and null, and of no legal force or effect." James Melville had complained that Morton would not "allow Christ to reign freely." The same position was taken up when the Assembly of 1842 protested against "the dishonour done to Christ's crown, and the rejection of His sole and supreme authority as King of His Church." The dispute was settled, for the time, when, in 1843, more than 400 ministers left the Establishment and founded the Free Church of Scotland. There was much personal suffering, for the seceders gave up church and manse, and many things that they held dear, and those whom they left behind were subjected to the pain of misunderstanding and misrepresentation; to both came the severance of old friendships in the bitter feeling of the time. About sixty years afterwards, a small minority of the Free Church appealed to the lawcourts against the decision of the General Assembly to unite with other Scottish Presbyterians outside the Establishment, and the State once again refused to admit the claim of Church Courts to independence. The disruption of 1843, apart from its resuscitation of the Melvillian position, was a memorable landmark in the history of Scotland, for those who left the Establishment built up a great and powerful Church, and those who remained in the Church of Scotland went courageously to work to repair the breaches, and long before the abolition of lay patronage, in 1874, they had restored the Church to a vigour which was worthy of its best days. The two great Presbyterian Churches in Scotland are no longer separated by fundamental differences of opinion and are, in one sense, more truly united than when they were two opposing parties in one Church. Unity of sentiment and feeling has in recent years produced a hopeful movement towards unity of organization.

The influence of the past history of Scotland is more readily traced in ecclesiastical questions than in political and social problems, the conditions of which afford smaller opportunity of appeal to history. A story of ecclesiastical life so varied and of ecclesiastical antagonism so bitter may, in spite of the honourable record of sufferings endured for conscience' sake by adherents of all parties, be but a damnosa hereditas in

the discussion of the problems of to-day. Good and evil are mixed in the religious history of Scotland. How far it is possible to hold to the good without clinging to things less noble, remains the problem of the generations.

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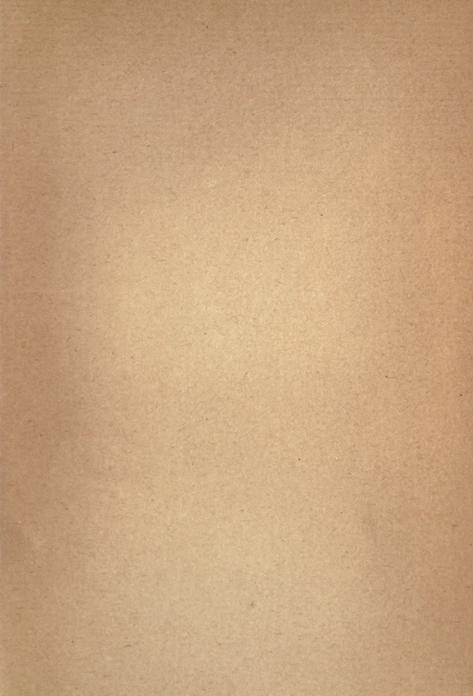
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